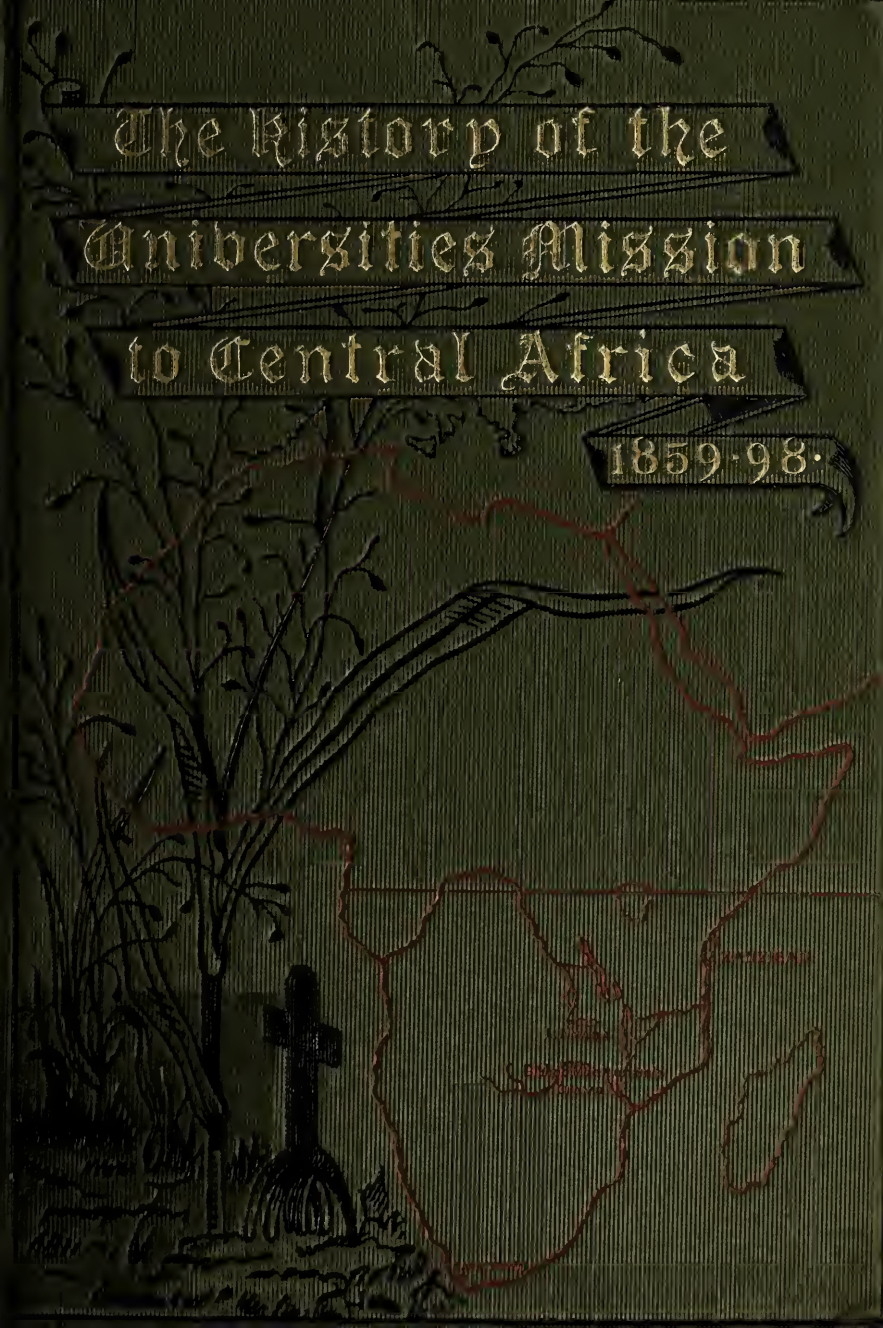


The History of the
Universities Mission
to Central Africa

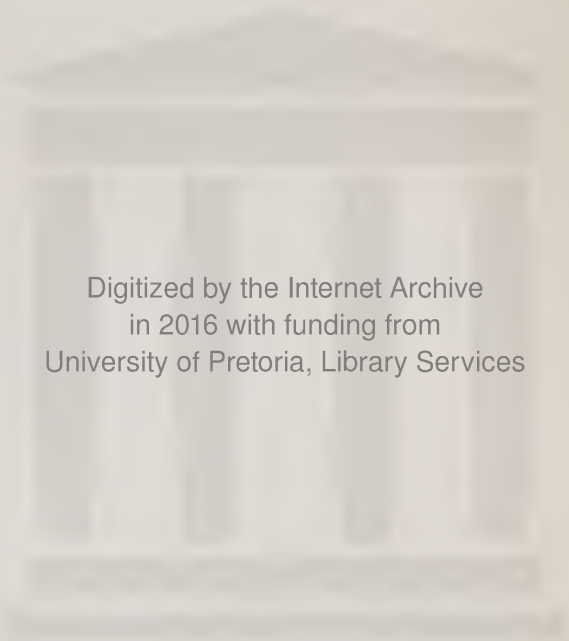
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THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITIES'
MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA,
1859-1898.



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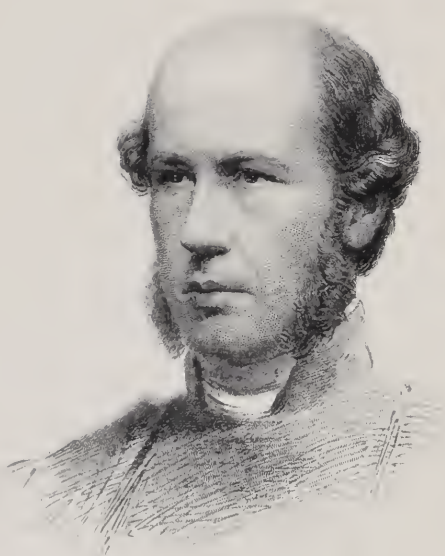
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CHARLES FREDERICK MACKENZIE

First Bishop of the Universities' Mission



TO THE BLESSED MEMORY
OF ALL THOSE
WHO FROM
CHARLES FREDERICK MACKENZIE,
BISHOP,
HAVE PASSED TO THEIR REST
IN THE SERVICE OF THE MISSION,
THIS RECORD OF FAITHFUL WORK
IS DEDICATED.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IT is hoped that this book may subserve a fourfold purpose—

(1) To inform the African students for Holy Orders of the previous history of their own Church ; that

“With thankful hearts o’erflowing for the mercies they behold,
They may praise their sainted fathers, the famous men of old.”

(2) To give English friends of the Mission a record of its work up to date, suitable for reading aloud at working parties or guild meetings.

(3) To enable the student of Church History to trace the advance of one part of the Church’s warfare in the Mission Field.

(4) To give some information concerning slavery, and life in Central Africa, even to those who may not feel interested in Missions.

For this last purpose the Chapter on SLAVERY (XIX.), to be found at the end of the book, will be most useful. It is from the pen of Lieut. C. S. Smith, R.N., Her Majesty’s Consul at Bilbao, formerly Consul at Zanzibar, and therefore an expert in the subject.

Working parties will find that some of the chapters can be subdivided, so as to form two or three short readings ; others—as chapters VI. or VIII.—are better read all at once. The chapter on Slavery is meant for the student, rather than for promiscuous reading, but a reading might easily be selected from it.

The History of the Universities’ Mission is primarily

Church History—as much as if we wrote of the foundation of the Church of Alexandria, of St. Boniface's mission work, or of the Conversion of England. But the beginning of history in many a land has been the history of its National Church. Hence, though desiring to write in a strain befitting a Church chronicler, we hope the book may have some general interest for any who in future time may care to look back to the beginnings of Christianity, civilization, and national life in the country of the Swahili, the Bondei, the Yao, or the Nyasa.

The Author desires to express her thanks to the many friends who have so well and kindly aided her in what has been a most congenial work—first, to many members of the U.M.C.A. Committee, more especially the Secretaries, the Editors of the Magazines, and to several past and present members of the Mission staff; next, to Mr. Consul Smith for his able chapter on Slavery, bringing together details, some of which (it is believed) have never been published.

She also gratefully confesses her indebtedness to the Memoirs of Bishop Mackenzie, Bishop Steere, and Rev. Arthur Fraser Sim; to the Rev. H. Rowley's former History of the Mission, and to a mass of records and literature kept at the office; and in the case of the Usambara group of Missions, to the actual original Record Books, so carefully written in the handwriting of workers, many of whom are fallen asleep.

And last—but not least—thanks are due to Miss Yonge for contributing the Preface to the book.

A. E. M. A.-M.

Feast of SS. Simon and Jude,
1896.

P R E F A C E.

MAN'S charter of possession of the earth seems to be to fill it worthily, not only by peopling it with multitudes, but with such nations as are capable of developing its resources, and building on them, step by step, civilization, improvement, and progress, especially towards that highest mark which is set before the world in Christianity.

It seems as if, in the history of the world, a discovery or revelation of the truth acted as an impulse in arms and arts, and civilization generally ; but if that religion was not susceptible of going farther and higher, the progress of the nation likewise stopped, or even retrograded. Thus it has been with the Chinese, the Hindoos, and, later, with the Arabs. It has been only, until the last three centuries, the nations around the Mediterranean Sea who have gradually carried on the course of thought and activity in a kind of community of intellect.

Egypt and Tyre had begun and carried on the work of progress till their corruption of faith made their religion effete, and in the case of the Phœnicians, horrible and barbarous. Greece flourished and extended her influence as long as she was a genuine seeker after truth ; and to Rome, with the brave, honest code of her early days, was committed the battle with the Canaanite greed and cruelty in Carthage and the other Phœnician colonies.

The philosophy and religion of Greece and Rome were well-nigh worn out when the impulse of Christianity came

in on them and their foundations on the African coast. Alexandria and Carthage produced the two greatest names in the early Church, and the whole Mediterranean border was a region of culture and thought ; but these were being corrupted when Mohammed promulgated a belief which, though most imperfect, had in it sufficient truth to inspire the Arabs with the spirit of conquest and propagation of their faith.

It was retrogression to these lands of Christianity, but in the negro races who adopted it there was a certain advance in improvement. But to the Arab and Turk the entire continent was chiefly an emporium of black slaves and white ivory.

Missionary zeal was chiefly expended on the northern nations before ; in the Middle Ages it died away, nor was there even intercourse with any except the Mohammedan inhabitants of the coast of the Mediterranean until after the discovery of America, when Las Casas, in the hope of sparing the natives of the Caribbean Isles, proposed to substitute negro labour for theirs. The Guinea coast became the hunting ground of slave traders for successive generations of Spanish, Portuguese, and Englishmen, without more idea of compunction than if their game had been ostriches or elephants.

The Papal partition, marked by a meridian three hundred leagues west of the Azores, between Spain and Portugal, stimulated the latter country to send forth explorers, and thus in 1496 the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope completed the outline of the continent, though the interior remained for the most part comparatively unknown ; and even down to our own generation, maps depicted the Mountains of the Moon a range more fabulous than the mountains *in* the moon.

Not till 1652 did the Dutch begin to settle at the Cape, enslaving but not teaching the Hottentots, and hunting down the less docile nations who interfered with them. The Moravians, always a missionary congregation, sent out a teacher in 1737, but the Boers were obstructive, and sent him home, and it was not for another fifty years that another attempt was made. Experience in America and the West Indies seems to have awakened the minds of Christians to the sense that not only domestic slaves possessed souls to be saved, but that their kindred at home ought also to be reached. Philanthropy might liberate the negro, but he could not be sent back to his savage relations, and thus Sierra Leone had to be colonized, and could not choose but become a missionary centre. Already, 1795, the first year of British possession of the Cape, the Moravian Brethren had returned, and in 1799 the London Missionary Society had begun to work upon the Kaffirs, a fine race, partly of Arab descent, and capable of intelligence, faithfulness, and courage. That knight-errant of mission chivalry, Allan Gardiner, made one expedition in those hitherto unknown regions.

The London Missionary Society sent out Robert Moffatt in the year 1816, and he commenced his wonderful labours in Bechuanaland, labours that lasted from his twentieth to his seventieth year, and which prepared his son-in-law Livingstone for his memorable career.

Systematic work by the English Church must be dated from 1847, when by the liberality of one lady, a true steward of her great possessions, the diocese of Cape Town took its rise.

Angela Burdett Coutts has been permitted to behold in her own lifetime most marvellous effects arising from her

open-handed gifts to the Church. Under Bishop Robert Gray, not only were the stakes strengthened, but her cords were lengthened, as new dioceses were created like branches springing from the newly planted tree. There were struggles and contentions it is true, but such are proofs of life ; and one important consequence was the discovery that colonial Bishops, and those in lands beyond British dominions, need not be bound by oaths of spiritual allegiance to the Sovereign of England or the Archbishop of Canterbury. The decision set the Church free to stretch her arms wherever there was need. Nor has there, throughout her entire history, been such an extraordinary extension of her growth as there has taken place in the course of the eighty years that have passed since Middleton was consecrated almost by stealth to the diocese of Calcutta.

Livingstone was in the meantime making those explorations which brought him into contact with the negro race, and revealed the horrors of the slave trade, which, through Arabs and Portuguese kidnappers, supplied the Mohammedan countries. The indignant zeal which he roused in England had its effect in the Universities' Mission.

The chosen leader, Charles Frederick Mackenzie, had gathered experience by work among the colonists and Zulus of Natal. He was a man of most attractive manners, as well as of great intellect, and self-devoted faith. But it was only discovered that the track in which Livingstone led the Mission was impracticable by the sacrifice of his life and those of his followers.

His sister, Anne, already an invalid when she had set out to join in his enterprise, returned in shattered health with the one purpose of doing all that in her lay to carry out his work. Twice had she passed his grave on

an island of the Shiré on her dreadful voyage in an open boat, when the sailors had prepared a spade to dig a grave for her, and she came home sick with African fever, in addition to all former maladies.

Yet she had energy to become the very heart of African missions. She felt the disappointment when the Zambesi was found impracticable for English residents, and the headquarters of the Universities' Mission were transferred to Zanzibar, but thenceforth her chief interest was in the work in Zululand, which had been interrupted by her brother's call, and for the foundation of this bishopric she chiefly laboured till her death on Quinquagesima Sunday, 1877.

To her devotion, we could not but give these few words, as one of the earliest pioneers of the Central African Mission, and so nearly connected with the first who there broke soil. It was a sowing in tears for those who have since reaped in joy. In joy, shall we say? Nay, to every generation, where true progress is made, the same petition is realized: "Show Thy servants Thy work, and their children Thy glory." The achievements of one form the foundation for the next.

"To subdue the earth" of Africa after the long prevalence of dark barbarism, seems to be the task of the present day. The discoveries of travellers, and the map-making of diplomatists, have led to the partition of the continent into the "protectorates" of the powers of Europe. Yet the Church is not lagging behind them. Even before the feet of the labourer go those of him "that bringeth good tidings, and publisheth peace,"—peace from cruel violence, from savage kidnapping, from ghastly witchcraft and revenge,—that outward and inward peace that passeth all understanding.

C. M. YONGE.

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[*Note.*—Some time early this year the Colony of Freed Slaves was planted at Mbweni.]

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PART I.

THE GOING FORTH OF THE SOWER.

CHAPTER I.

THE CALL TO THE WORK.

*" Uplift the banner! heathen lands
Shall see from far the glorious sight;
And nations, gathering at the call,
Their spirits kindle in its light."*

ALL Missions to the heathen that have ever been sent forth have had their true *Ite, missa est*, from the great Head of the Church, spoken on the mountain in Galilee, as well as from this or that national Church. His "Go ye into all the world" must be the spring of mission work to us still, as long as there is one corner of that world to which His message has never come. It is well to remember this, because people often say, "It was So-and-so's speech, or such-and-such a meeting which originated this or that Mission."

Yet the call of the Master comes in many ways, and now that the Universities' Mission has become as a broad and steady stream, it is interesting to turn back and trace from how many sources, and in what divers manners, came the immediate call to go forth and gather in the Church's harvest in Eastern tropical Africa.

From India and New Zealand, from South Africa and Central Africa came the impulses which moved men to begin the work, and which gained for that work its first leader.

1853.
First impulses
to Mission
work.

In April, 1853, the Rev. J. S. Jackson, of Caius College, Cambridge, going out to head a new Mission at Delhi, tried to influence Charles Frederick Mackenzie to go with him.

Charles
Frederick
Mackenzie.

"After he left me," wrote the future Bishop, "I read a bit of Henry Martyn's Life before *he* left England, and I determined for the first time, and prayed to God to help me, to think what was best to be done, *and to do it*. I thought chiefly of the command, 'Go and baptize all nations,' and how some one ought to go; and I thought how in another world one would look back and rejoice at having seized this opportunity of taking the good news of the gospel to those who had never heard of it, but for whom, as well as for us, Christ died. I thought of the Saviour sitting in heaven and looking down upon this world, and seeing us who have heard the news selfishly keeping it to ourselves."

Thus the impulse was given, but in the ordering of God's providence it was turned aside from India. In the next year two bishops arrived in England from the colonial mission field. One of these was Dr. Colenso, the newly appointed Bishop of Natal, coming for recruits after a ten weeks' survey of his diocese; the other that prince of Bishops, the first Bishop of New Zealand.

1854.

Bishop
Selwyn's
Sermons at
Cambridge.

In November, Bishop Selwyn preached four sermons on Sunday afternoons in Great St. Mary's, Cambridge, which were published as *The Work of Christ in the World*. These sermons Mackenzie heard, and was deeply stirred, as no doubt many another hearer was, by such words as the following:—

"I go from hence, if it be the will of God, to the most distant of all countries. . . . There God has planted the standard of the Cross as a signal to His Church to fill up the intervening spaces, till there is neither a spot of earth which has not been trodden by the messengers of salvation, nor a single man to whom the gospel has not been preached. Fill up the void. Let it no longer be a reproach to the Universities that they have sent so few missionaries to the heathen. . . . The voice of the LORD is asking, 'Whom shall I send, and who will go with us?' May every one of you who intends, by God's grace, to dedicate himself to the ministry, answer at once: 'Here am I, send me.'"

The immediate result was that Mackenzie ^{Mackenzie goes to Natal, 1855.} offered himself to

Dr. Colenso, who, had already asked him to go to Natal as his Archdeacon. Thus was the future Bishop led to Africa and to an interest in African affairs.

All this time a door was being opened into the heart of Africa by a way which the Church could hardly have guessed.

For it was David ^{David Livingstone.}



DR. LIVINGSTONE.

Livingstone, the Scotch Presbyterian, working at first for the London Missionary Society, who during these years was making those journeys through the heart of Africa which made the entrance of a Mission possible, an account of which he published under the title, *Missionary Travels in South Africa*. During his visit to England in 1857, the simple large-hearted hero took England by storm, 1857. and when he announced his intention of inviting the

Church of England, represented by her two oldest Universities, to plant a Mission in Central Africa, it is no wonder that Oxford and Cambridge responded to his call. That the working of our national Church should have so impressed this great man, who was not of her sons, was justly felt to be a testimony to the life and vigour of the Church of England. He told his own story in each University. On December 4 he appeared in the Senate House at Cambridge. "His reception was enthusiastic; the undergraduates cheered as only undergraduates can cheer; and after a lecture of great interest, adapted with great tact to the audience, Professor Sedgwick, at the Vice-Chancellor's request, expressed the satisfaction which every one present felt."

Speech in the
Senate House,
Cambridge
(Dec. 4).

Livingstone went, and in the next two years had opened up fresh ground along the Shiré, and among the tribes lying round Lake Shirwa, and towards Nyasa; but his parting words rang in the ears of the Universities:—

"I go back to Africa to try to make an open path for commerce and Christianity. Do you carry out the work which I have begun. *'I leave it with you.'*"

Nevertheless, the fire which Dr. Livingstone had kindled in all hearts might have died out had not Robert Gray, 1858. first Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan of South Africa, visited England the next year. He had a well-considered scheme for sending missionary Bishops and Clergy into those heathen lands which bordered on the already established dioceses of Cape Town, Graham's Town, and Natal, thus giving them a base of operations in the lands already Christian. But with his characteristic disposition to yield in non-

Bishop Gray's
visit.

essentials to the wishes of others, and to use the materials offered to him, he threw himself warmly into the new scheme.

A Cambridge committee was at once formed. Committees formed. Oxford was asked to co-operate, and shortly after a great meeting in the Sheldonian, the Association took the name of "The Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa," its object being to provide funds for sending out at least six missionaries, under a head who should, if possible, be a Bishop; while the field for the Mission was left entirely to the choice of Livingstone, with the sanction of the Metropolitan under whose care it was at first advisable to place the Mission. For a year, then, stirred up (it should ever be remembered) by a curate in Cambridge—Mr. Monk—the committees worked in faith, content to leave in God's hands the decision whom they should send, and in what land the Mission should be planted.



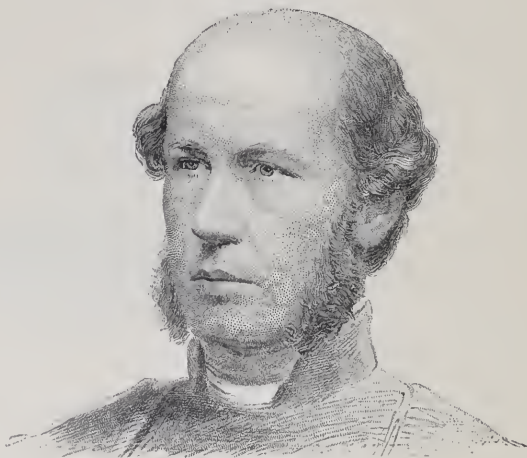
BISHOP GRAY.

Thus came round All Saints' Day, when the first year's Report¹ was presented in the Senate House at Cambridge. And now the question, "Who shall lead the Mission?" was to be answered. Archdeacon Mackenzie had been led to return

1859.
The Great
Zambesi
Meeting.

¹ See *Memoir of Bishop Mackenzie*, by the Bishop of Carlisle.

to England from Natal by a series of what looked like accidents ; so that when asked, "Well, what has brought you to England?" he replied with a laugh, "Upon my word, I am unable to tell you." Going, however, to preach in his own University on All Saints' Day, he was present at the "Great Zambesi Meeting," and, noting the zeal and



BISHOP MACKENZIE.

excitement of many, remarked, "I am *afraid* of this : most great works of this kind have been carried on by one or two men, in a quieter way, and have had a more humble beginning." The next day it was decided to offer him the headship of the Mission, which he at once accepted.

Charles Frederick Mackenzie was at this time thirty-four years of age. He was the youngest of a large family, related to the Mackenzies of Seaforth. He was educated at Grange School, Bishop Wearmouth, and at Caius College, Cambridge, graduating in 1848 as Second Wrangler. When congratulated on his success, he replied simply, "that he had only done what was natural under the circumstances." This simplicity was a trait in his character; and the man to whom it was natural to take so high a place in the mathematical tripos, found it natural, later on, to do his best wherever God called him. After several years more of college life, alternating with pastoral work in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, he was ordained priest in September, 1852. One anecdote of this period may be given. When acting as Mathematical Examiner for Honours, he noticed a student who seemed nervous and faint, but who, according to rule, could not leave the presence of the examiners during the time allotted to the papers in hand. Mackenzie spoke to him, and took him out, made him swallow some soup, and brought him back to pass his examination.

Mackenzie
appointed
Head of the
Mission.

Early in 1855 he sailed for Natal, accompanied by his sister Anne, and was afterwards joined by another sister. He had playfully called them his white and black sister, in allusion to the interest felt by the one in the European and by the other in the native races. The four and a half years of African work that ensued before his opportune return to England in 1859 were justly felt by the Committee of the Universities' Mission to be a great qualification for the leader of this new work.

Lay help
sought.

In addition to the six clergymen, it was now determined to add medical men, and an Industrial and Agricultural Department, as likely to be important aids in the extirpation of the slave trade. The Universities of Dublin and Durham were asked to co-

1860.
Alteration of
Title.

operate in the work, and in 1860 the Association altered its title to that of the "Oxford, Cambridge, Dublin, and Durham Mission to Central Africa."

First Members
of the
Mission.

While still waiting to know their destination, Mackenzie gathered his recruits—Miss Anne Mackenzie, his "white sister"; the Revs. L. J. Procter and H. C. Scudamore; Mr. Horace Waller, lay superintendent; S. A. Gamble, carpenter; and Alfred Adams, agricultural labourer. It was said of them with truth at this time:—

"To the leader and his associates in this noble enterprise it will personally be a matter of perfect indifference where they shall settle. They are prepared to go forth, in the spirit of the Patriarch when called from Ur of the Chaldees, to take possession, in the name of Christ, of a country in which at present they have not so much as set their foot."

Status
of Missionary
Bishops

A difficulty arose in the course of this year as to the legality of consecrating bishops for places beyond Her Majesty's dominions, as to their status, and the See to which they would owe obedience, and it was thought wise to refer the matter to the Convocation of Canterbury. A favourable Report was in due time presented, suggesting obedience to the nearest Metropolitan, and the organization of a system of synods to regulate immediate needs and secure unity.

Farewell
at Canterbury,
Oct. 2.

On October 2 there was a farewell service in the Cathedral of Canterbury, when the

Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce) thrilled all hearts by his parting address to the Mission :—

“And as for thee, true yokefellow, and brother well-beloved, who ledest forth this following; to thee, in this our parting hour—while yet the grasped hand tarries in the embrace of love—to thee, what shall we say? Surely what, before he gave over to younger hands his rod and staff, God’s great prophet said of old to his successor: ‘Be strong and of a good courage, for thou must go with this people into the land which the LORD hath sworn unto their fathers to give them, and *thou shalt cause them to inherit it.*’ . . . When thy heart is weakest, He shall make it strong; when all others leave thee, He shall be closest to thee; and the revelation of His love shall turn danger into peace, labour into rest, suffering into ease, anguish into joy, and martyrdom, if He so order it, into the prophet’s fiery chariot, bearing thee by the straightest course to thy most desired Home.”

The final meeting in that crypt of St. Augustine’s at Canterbury, where now several relics of the Bishop are treasured, cannot but suggest a comparison with the Apostle of the English. To St. Augustine, leading his forty monks to win England—sent forth by St. Gregory—how small, how inadequate would have appeared that little band, going forth like an advanced piquet into an enemy’s country, under cover of whose apparent defeat the great army might advance to victory!

It was in St. George’s Cathedral, Cape Town, Jan. 1.
Bishop
Mackenzie’s
Consecration
at Cape Town. on the Feast of the Circumcision, 1861, that Charles Frederick Mackenzie, the first missionary Bishop whom our Church had sent forth for a thousand years, was consecrated by Bishop Gray, Metropolitan, assisted by the Bishops of Natal and St. Helena.

The oath then taken shows that his field of labour was settled :—

“In the Name of God, Amen. I, Charles Frederick Mackenzie, chosen Bishop of the Mission to the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of the Lake Nyasa and River Shiré, do profess and promise all due reverence and obedience to the



ST. GEORGE'S CATHEDRAL, CAPE TOWN.

Metropolitan Bishop and Metropolitan Church of Cape Town, and to their successors. So help me God, through Jesus Christ.”

A picture of the party at this time, while they waited several weeks at Bishopscourt, is given by an eye-witness :—

Description of
the Party.

"December 9, 1860.—The other guests in the house were Archdeacon and Miss Mackenzie, Mr. Procter and Mr. Scudamore (two young clergymen of the Mission), and Mr. Waller, who has the entire management of all the secular affairs belonging to the Mission. The Zambesians generally go to town every day on business. When they have started, kind Miss Mackenzie gives me a Kafir lesson. In the afternoon I generally find a Portuguese lesson going on on the Stoep. Dinner and evening are something perfect, but quite indescribable—quiet, grave discussion over the Mission, interspersed with all manner of little skirmishes and attacks on the Archdeacon and Mr. Scudamore, who are very boys for fun and brightness. Oh, but they are such a noble set of men, and it is such a pleasure and privilege to know them all. . . . December 13, 1860.—I am just fairly in love with the Archdeacon: he is so bright and funny, and earnest and kind. His elder sister, Miss Mackenzie, is one of those kind, winning sort of people who love everybody, and whom everybody loves. Mr. Waller is here, going to town every day to make purchases. I can't describe him more truly or honourably than the Bishop [Gray] does: 'He is a Christian gentleman.' You can't talk to him for a quarter of an hour without finding out what a noble fellow he is. L—— stayed here a few days. She knows all the party, too. . . . Fancy the news coming of the death of Mr. Helmore and his party—at least, some dead from fever, and some missing—so soon after their arrival! L—— was here when the news came. She said for half a day, perhaps, they were not so boyishly bright as usual, and then it seemed as if the new danger gave them new courage and brightness."

The deaths alluded to were those of a party of London Society missionaries who were to work further up the Zambesi.

There was in Cape Town a Mission congregation of coloured people, now known as St. Archdeacon Lightfoot's congregation.

Paul's, under the care of the veteran missionary, Archdeacon Lightfoot. Among these were many liberated slaves, whom Mr. Lightfoot thought might help the Mission in its intercourse with the natives. One Sunday evening Mackenzie went and preached in the little rough, temporary church, and asked if any would volunteer for the work. Twelve coloured men stood up, three of whom sailed with the Bishop.

Sailing of the
Lyra,
Jan. 12. Finally, on January 12, the party sailed in H.M.S. *Lyra* from Simon's Bay, looking forward to whatever might await them; in the words of the Bishop:—

“Thus it may be that in the course of years we may become, what I have sometimes thought we were like, the original and early sprouts that rise from the seed in the ground, and serve but to give life and vigour and energy to the shoots which rise above the ground afterwards. . . . That is the prospect we have before us—a prospect which does not depend upon our life or death, which does not depend upon our successes during our lifetime, but depends entirely upon the grace of God; a prospect which will undoubtedly be realized in God's good time, for we know that ‘the knowledge of the LORD shall cover the earth as the waters cover the sea.’”

CHAPTER II.

THE SHIRÉ HIGHLANDS.

*"Yet not without man's answering toil
Yields He His blessings free;
No harvest from th' unfurrowed soil,
No fruit from unpruned tree."*

PATIENCE was certainly the first virtue the Mission party was called on to exercise, and in the end patience had "her perfect work."

In H.M.S. *Lyra* sailed the Bishop, the Rev. L. J. Procter, and some black men, among whom was Charles Thomas. The rest of the party had started before in H.M.S. *Sidon*.

The Farewell
in Natal.

There was a happy rest off Natal, where the Bishop took leave of his old work and of the sister who remained there. The final parting from English territory and friends was only to be compared to St. Paul's departure from his beloved Ephesian converts at Miletus. "Strong men fairly cried as they spoke of the kind heart, and loving deeds, and earnest Christian life of him who was going from amongst them." He did not shun to declare unto them the whole counsel of GOD. In a sermon "he spoke most openly on the treatment of the natives here as a shame to the white people. . . . No sympathy with their home joys or sorrows, hardly credit given them for having within them deeper thoughts and feelings than they care to reveal to those who have so little human sympathy with them. While this was the

state of things, to raise an interest in the tribes further off would be unreal."

"On the shore we slipped away, and, leaning together on a heap of bricks, had a few sweet quiet collects together, till we were warned we must go to the boat. . . . Speaking of happiness, he said: 'Now till death my post must be one of care and unrest. To be the sharer of every one's sorrows, the comforter of every one's griefs, the strengthener of every one's weakness—to do this as much as in me lies is now my aim and object.' He said this with a smile, and oh, the peace in his face! it seemed as if nothing could shake it."

Here another missionary joined the party, Coming of
Rev.
H. Rowley. the Rev. H. Rowley, the early chronicler of the Mission. The two parties of the *Sidon* and *Lyra* were united again at the mouth of the Zambesi, and here they found Livingstone and his party, who Off the
Zambesi. were to escort them to their field of labour. But Livingstone now objected to the plan of approaching Nyasa from the side of the Zambesi and Shiré, partly owing to the difficulty of navigation, and partly to the absence of the friendly chief, Chibisa. The mouths of the Zambesi certainly form one of the most forbidding of ports. They make a low-lying delta, and the water of the Kongoni mouth, thought to be the best, is shallow, with a most dangerous bar. On the other hand, the Rovuma, which Livingstone was anxious to explore, flows 500 miles further north, and discharges a splendid volume of water by an unbarred mouth into a large and fairly sheltered bay.

Naturally, but reluctantly, the Bishop yielded his judgment to that of the great explorer; and, leaving the mission party at Johanna, one of the Comoro Islands, he, with

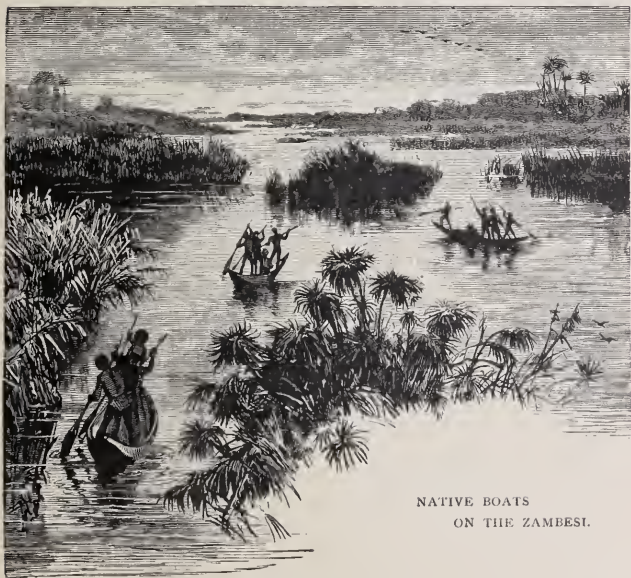
Up the
Rovuma. Mr. Rowley, accompanied Livingstone up the Rovuma in the *Pioneer*, the little exploring steamer which our Government had just sent out to him.

It was wasted time as far as the Mission was concerned. The Rovuma became so full of shoals, and the time of year (March) so late in the season, that, for fear of the water falling and stranding the party, they returned after only getting twenty-five miles up stream. The river was then thought to connect the ocean with Lake Nyasa, which was soon afterwards discovered to be a mistake.

During this river voyage the Bishop worked as hard as any one in the navigation of the little steamer, and once narrowly escaped being eaten by a crocodile.
The Lip-ring. Here they first noticed the hideous lip-ring with which the native women disfigure their faces. The thick upper lip is pierced, and a block or ring of wood inserted, round which the lip grows out into a fair likeness of a snout. Without this adornment no woman, it was believed, could be attractive enough to win a husband. The humility, which causes them to be so dissatisfied with their personal appearance as to improve it so carefully, leads to a difficulty in speaking or eating, and to the impossibility of kissing forming any part of courtship!

The Zambesi
Voyage begun
May 1. After picking up the party at Johanna, the Mission at length entered the Kongoni mouth of the Zambesi on May 1, exactly four months after the Bishop's consecration. But it was not until July 8 that this river voyage ended, so that patience was still needed. The Bishop's sunny disposition helped much, as did the never-failing courage of Livingstone. "He and the Bishop" writes Bishop Gray, "get

on famously together. The Bishop says they chaff each other all day like two school-boys." Dr. Kirk gave lessons in botany, that indispensable science for all pioneers, with the result that the Bishop made some progress ; whilst in graver moments we find him "steeping his mind" in such



NATIVE BOATS
ON THE ZAMBESI.

words as "perplexed, but not in despair"; "Lo, I am with you always, even unto the end of the world."

Sometimes the steamer took twenty-four days to advance twelve miles. It burnt wood, and the wood had to be cut ; it stuck on a sandbank, and had to be pushed off. Those who worked it had fever, and so had most of the

Mission party; but, unfortunately, so lightly that it led them to despise the enemy, and to neglect the ordinary precautions which experience and prudence have since shown to be necessary if fever is to be warded off.

It has often been remarked that in those far-distant lands, amid scenes where the Faith has never been preached, the differences of Christians sink into the shade, and their points of union are hailed with joy. Thus Mackenzie writes:—

Services on
Board.

“Livingstone and his party come to our ordinary services. We have on board Morning Prayer, and sermon on Sunday morning, and every morning and evening the reading of ten or twelve verses and a few of the collects. On Whit-Sunday I proposed having the Litany, and asked Livingstone whether he thought it would weary the sailors. He said, ‘No; he always used it himself.’ We have always had it since. They all attend Holy Communion.”

And the Bishop showed himself willing to learn from one not of his communion:—

“I have been reading Moffat’s missionary labours, and it has made me think more of the difficulties, not only of a practical outward kind, but still more of a spiritual kind. It has helped me also to remember that God is our help, and that we attempt nothing in our own name.”

Description of
Zambesi.

They followed the Zambesi for about eighty miles from its mouth, finding it a magnificent stream a mile broad, muddy, but well stocked with fish, flowing through low banks clothed in long grass, abounding in birds of many sorts, while the hippopotamus and crocodile were seen everywhere. The former is sometimes used for food, and is eatable when quite young; but the mature specimens they sometimes killed needed a good appetite and a strong digestion.

The *Pioneer* now entered the Shiré, a tributary of the Zambesi on its north bank, about 300 feet wide, and very clear. The country here grew more mountainous and much more beautiful; the heights of Mounts Morambala (4,000 ft.), Clarendon (6,000 ft.),

Ascending
the Shiré.



THE RIVER SHIRÉ.

and Milanje (8,000 ft.), came successively into view on the eastern side. The gentle tribes who peopled the country are called, in these early accounts, Manganja—a corruption of Ma-Nyanja or Lake-people, Nyasa being but another form of the word. They were mostly agricultural, living in small scattered villages, with

The
Manganja
or Nyasas.

Mankokwe. very little union among them. Mankokwe was at this time Rundo, or overlord of the land, but had little power. He received the Mission party graciously, but bade them depart in peace, and settle anywhere except in his village.

Chibisa the Hero of the Nyasas. The *Pioneer* therefore went on to Chibisa's, a village about 140 miles up the Shiré, beautifully situated upon the south-western bank of the river, which is here studded with lovely islands, while a magnificent mountain view lies to the north and east. Chibisa himself was a mysterious hero, said by his people to be a chief and son of a chief—but by the Portuguese declared to be a slave. Possibly he was both;—anyhow, though not the Rundo, he was quite the strongest man, and the seer of the land. Though now dwelling on the Zambesi, near Tete, his aid was sought by the people for a hundred miles round.

The Mission Lands at Chibisa's, July 8. Here, then, at Chibisa's, the Mission first planted its foot. And here, with Chibisa's as his parish, the Bishop left Mr. Rowley, with Adams, the carpenter, and Job, one of the Cape Town men, to build huts and receive stores. Dr. Livingstone went on with the Mission party to settle them in their new home on the Highlands; for, though the river was the only thoroughfare in the land, it was also the most unhealthy place for a permanent settlement.

The Makololo. With Livingstone went some of his Makololo followers, a Bechuana tribe in whom he had great and deserved confidence. Before going to England he had planted them at Tete, ordering them to wait there for him, and on his return in two years there they were still waiting.

And so, to conquer the land and subdue it for Christ, this little procession set forth, the great Doctor tramping along at the head, with the even, steady pace with which he had walked through Africa. The Makololo, Sena-men, and Chibisians followed, bearing the burdens, including forty days' provisions; lastly came the missionaries, headed by their Bishop, and, like the Jews of old under Nehemiah, "Every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held a weapon." For, mindful that there was already war in the land, they were all armed. When the natives looked at the Bishop, and saw him carrying his gun in one hand, and his pastoral staff (the gift of the Cape clergy) in the other, they were more alarmed at the latter than at the former, whose properties they knew.

Monday,
June 15.

Bishop Mac-
kenzie's first
March.

Said one, "Mfuti?" (a gun).

"Aye Mfuti ikuru" (a great gun), said another.

The Bishop writes :—

"I myself had in my left hand a loaded gun, in my right the crozier they gave me in Cape Town, in front a can of oil, and behind a bag of seeds, which I carried the greater part of the day. I thought of the contrast between my weapon and my staff, the one like Jacob, the other like Abraham, who armed his trained servants to rescue Lot. I thought of the seed which we must sow in the hearts of the people, and of the oil of the Spirit that must strengthen us in all we do."

And so at length in Central Africa "the Sower went forth to sow His seed."

At this point it is necessary to understand the state of the land at the time. Livingstone found it much changed since his former visit, and it is not wonderful that he did

not realize the causes of the change ; still less wonderful is it that the missionaries did not understand them.

State
of Native
Nations
at this time. Shortly put it was thus :—The Matabele, of whose prowess we now know so much, had defeated a tribe in the far interior—the Banyai—and stolen or slain their women and children. The Banyai offered ivory to Portuguese slave dealers to supply them with wives. The Portuguese looking round to see where there was war, and consequently where there was a weaker party to be enslaved, discovered a part of the great Yao race, who lived, and still live, on the eastern side of Lake Nyasa, south of the Rovuma, and who were flying south before the incursions of the Mavia and other Makua tribes. This Yao race is in the Mission Journal always called Ajawa ; Livingstone had met some of them near Mount Zomba years before, and formed a bad opinion of them. Pressed south, they came to the country round Lake Shirwa, and, as there was plenty of land, they would have settled peaceably, but for the Manganja or Nyasa race, who fought with their weary (and perhaps thieving) guests, and sold them in crowds to the Portuguese. They were but too much used to being seized for slaves, for annually numbers of them were sold at Zanzibar. By degrees the Yao found themselves the stronger, and turned the tables on the Manganja, selling *them* to the Portuguese, instead of being sold themselves. Like most African tribes, the Yao were by turns enslavers and enslaved.

It was at this juncture that the missionaries arrived, and only knew of the Yao as wicked marauders, helping on the thrice accursed slave trade. Had they realized that they were a stronger race pushed south, and compelled

to make homes for themselves by the universal law of replenishing the earth and subduing it, they would have known that it was hopeless to engage in any struggle with them, unless they meant to interfere regularly in native wars. This they had already resolved not to do. Bishop Gray, writing later on, says :—

On
Missionaries
using Arms.

“It is curious that the question of using arms was freely discussed in my house, and that the party—the Bishop and Scudamore most especially—maintained that it was unlawful under *any* circumstances, even in defence of their lives. Their line was patient suffering.”

This is the line universally adopted now in the Mission, but no one had calculated the effect of the actual sight of a slave gang (in a place where there were no British forces to call in) on men with loving hearts and strong hands. Dr. Livingstone felt more than justified in what he did. Most Englishmen, worthy of the name, and imperfectly understanding the state of things, would have done the same. But interference once begun, must be followed up. If patient suffering is to be effective, it must be consistent. “It must begin with non-intervention and end with non-intervention.” Dr. Livingstone hoped one blow would be enough. It was not enough. After all, if the native policy of the Mission was a mistake, it was a mistake not unworthy of heroes. If we do not adopt their line, we can admire and follow their spirit.

The party, now *en route* from Chibisa's, on the Shiré to Chigunda's station (Magomero) on the Highlands, had reached Mbame's. The natives were sitting round their fires, while the Bishop and others had gone to bathe, when

**First Rescue
of Slaves
at Mbame's.**

a string of slaves was seen descending into the village, driven by slave dealers. Livingstone, his brother, and Dr. Kirk went out to meet them. There they were, eighty-four helpless captives, their necks in slave-forks, bound with hard thongs of bark, men, women and children, on their way to Tete, to be sold into life-long captivity. Dr. Livingstone disarmed the six slavers and let them go; while, with joy



A SLAVE GANG.

untold, the people around cut the bonds and set the bewildered slaves free. They stretched out their hands uncertainly, and gradually light dawned on them. They were free. Only the night before, one poor fellow had tried

to loose his bonds, and, being discovered, was hung up to a tree for hours, by his wrists and ankles, till, all power of walking having failed him, he was taken aside, and an axe ended his torments.

Bishop Mackenzie returned from his bath to find the slaves "clothed and cooking." No wonder his heart warmed, and he resolved to stand by Livingstone through good and evil report; for it is true that, as Paley says:—

"Few ever will be found to attempt alterations, but men of more spirit than prudence, of more sincerity than caution, of

warm, eager and impetuous temper. If we are to wait for improvement till the cool, the calm, the discreet part of mankind begins it, I will venture to pronounce that (without His interposition with Whom nothing is impossible) we may remain as we are till the renovation of all things."

Here was at once a nucleus of work for the party, and Dr. Livingstone gave all the captives to the Bishop, who, after offering them their choice of returning to their homes or staying with him, found that they had no homes left to which to return. The Bishop therefore had become at once father and head of a flock.

They now marched on to Magomero, a village belonging to the chief Chigunda. Hearing fearful accounts of the Yao cruelties, Livingstone marched out to try and induce them to retire to their own country, not knowing that they would have done so only too gladly, but could not. Burning villages lighted the way to the Yao camp. It is difficult to say whether a Makololo or Yao fired the first shot; but in a short time Livingstone drove off the Yao and burnt their huts. The Bishop took no active part in the battle, but his party lent their aid in this serious affray.

It was now determined to settle at Magomero, and here Livingstone left them. Chigunda said he was "dead already" at the thought of these powerful English going away, and for the consideration of £1 he gave them half his village. It was as bad a situation as the Highlands afforded, being regularly down in a hollow, and sixty miles from Chibisa's, whence all provisions must come. On the other hand, it was a strong situation, well watered, but not free from

Magomero.

Warfare
with the Yao,
July 23.

Half
Magomero
bought for £1.

fever. As an outpost, it might perhaps stay the advance of the Ajawa.

The Yao War
(August). The unfortunate fame of their former prowess spread far and wide, and a deputation of Nyasa chiefs prayed the Bishop to help them again. He, feeling pledged by the former action, and finding that families had really been carried off, agreed to help them, on a promise that they themselves would never buy or sell slaves again, and that any prisoners taken should go free.

The Bishop, Mr. Waller, and Charles Thomas went boldly forward to the Yao army on an embassy of peace, and barely escaped being shot down. The combat then began; the Nyasa people fought well under the guidance of the English, and victory remained with them, a victory bloodless on their own side and nearly so on the enemy's side; and the Yao fled, leaving their captives behind.

To no one could the fight have been so dreadful as to the Bishop and his companions, Mr. Scudamore, Mr. Rowley, Mr. Waller, and Adams. But they had the happiness of re-uniting some of the captives to their families; and out of this battle came some of the few visible fruits of

Rescued
Children. the Magomero Mission. A little sick child, left to starve, was picked up on the way back, baptized by the name of Charles Henry, slept by the Bishop's side that night, and passed to rest in the morning—the first-fruits of the Nyasa race. And as they walked back to Magomero, the Bishop himself carried a little girl named Daoma on his shoulder, “because she was such a little one.” We shall hear of her again.

And now came a very pleasant time at Magomero. The country quite close was at peace, slave traders came no

more, the missionaries built themselves huts and encouraged their people to do the same and to plant gardens. The Bishop was very proud of having built himself the best hut, circular, nine feet in diameter and ten feet high in the middle, his Cambridge mathematical precision standing him in good stead; but his satisfaction was alloyed when it was pointed out to him that he had forgotten to make a door!

Settlement
at
Magomero.

The missionaries were busy learning the language, which is something like Kafir. Bearing in mind the false impressions of God given by mission priests in China, who taught before they knew the language, they attempted no direct instruction, but such as arose out of daily necessities. For instance, news was brought that the Yao had burnt a certain village where the Bishop had once slept; would the English come and help them? Just as they were ready to start, the Bishop asked:

Teaching
Natives
Truth.

"Where are we to meet?"

"At the chief's village."

"What village?"

"The village where you slept," said the Nyasa, falling into the trap.

"Is it not burned, then?"

"No."

"Did you lie when you said it was burned?"

The chief Nampeko, grinning, replied, "I did lie."

"If a dog could do as you have done, I should kick it. I cannot speak to you any more to-day." Thus the Bishop taught them that a lie was displeasing to God.

So once they found all their people busily shelling peas, which turned out to be stolen. When detected, some

Teaching
Honesty.

laughed, but some looked ashamed. Chigunda, the chief, begged them off from punishment, generously refusing to have the peas. The Bishop therefore paid the price in cloth, and gave the peas to the goats, warning them he would send away any one who so offended again. Another time three of their people robbed a Nyasa man of a handsome brass bangle. The Bishop offered them the *sors tertia* of the old Winchester rule—a whipping—which was gratefully accepted by two, while the third was sent away. However, in two days he returned and begged for his flogging, which he duly received.

Daily Life at
Magomero.

The day's life followed a certain rule at Magomero. Rising at 6, there was a roll-call of natives at 6.30, which frightened them at first. The native breakfast was served in the open air, the boys arranged in circles, school-feast fashion, each having a literal "handful" of porridge. At 7 came matins, and at 8 Mission breakfast of goat's flesh, yams or sweet potatoes, and Indian corn porridge, and a loaf, when it could be had, and tea or coffee with goat's milk. All then went to work, the natives having tasks assigned them when not engaged in their gardens.

Mr. Scudamore drilled the boys, seventy-seven in number. They had a drum made of the skin of an elephant's ear, and they were taught to march in step and go through sundry exercises, ending with a plunge into a river at the word of command, by which they certainly learnt "Heaven's first Law" of order and obedience. Mr. Rowley undertook the purveying—no small task, with two hundred to provide for; and also took some very elementary classes. Mr. Waller, assisted at first by Dr. Meller of the Expedition,

acted as surgeon, and had in truth much practice on the terrible wounds of the slaves. He writes of the natives :—

“ They bear pain so well—little fellows submit to the cautery without wincing. One poor fellow had such a heel as I never saw. He was struck in it by accident with a fish spear ; the whole of the tendon is gone, and the bone decaying beneath. In this state he was driven some thirty miles by the slavers, and came back forty with us. He never complains.”

The Bishop and his companions took classes for reading and teaching as far as they were able. Dinner followed at 1, with a rest. Then work from 3 to 5 ; tea at 6, and prayers about 7.30. On Sundays and Festivals Holy Communion was celebrated, and gradually they managed to set apart a room as a chapel.

But a church was their great desire, and on October 1, the anniversary of the farewell service at Canterbury, Bishop Mackenzie solemnly set up the pillar of the hoped-for church, a good-sized tree, felled by Mr. Scudamore, calling it the “ first and corner post of the Church of St. Paul.” That church was never to be built, in spite of the bright and holy hopes which clustered around its beginning. All but two or three of those who should have ministered and worshipped there were removed—how soon!—to a “ House not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.” Yet some day, at no great distance of time, may be erected in that land of the Nyasas a church in honour of the great Missionary Apostle, and not without remembrance of the great Missionary Bishop.

A Church
planned and
begun Oct. 1.

CHAPTER III.

WAR, FAMINE, AND PESTILENCE.

*"Are all thine efforts fruitless, vain, ill-spèd,
Futile and weak, as broken ends of thread ?*

Yea, even so !

*Of broken shells He maketh, so He wills,
The everlasting marble of His hills."*

THE arrival of the first recruits in November caused great joy to the Mission. These were the Rev. H. de Wint Burrup, Dr. Dickenson, as medical officer, and Richard Clark, a tanner and shoemaker. Mrs. Burrup had been left at Bishop's Court, Cape Town, to follow later with Miss Mackenzie and Jessie Lennox, a servant devoted to the Mackenzies. Mr. Burrup arrived at Chibisa's, where Livingstone was anchored, in a marvellously short time, having pushed on alone with four natives, all the latter part of the way, in a small canoe. The Bishop, who had come down to see Livingstone, took him back to Magomero, and some fears were felt for the others who were behind with no quinine.

"But," says Mr. Waller, "while chatting away at breakfast (November 29), we heard two guns fired, and a very few moments assured us of the coming of Dr. Dickenson and Clark. I was quickly across the river, when a hearty 'All right, sir,' from Charles, and the sight of two new faces among a multitude of black men bearing burdens told me all our hopes and fears for their safety might now be cast to the winds, and my hurrah joined with the others that came across to welcome them."

"'For these and all His other mercies, but especially for *this* mercy, God's holy Name be praised,' cried the Bishop."

For thus began that stream of successors, which, though sometimes a slender stream indeed, has, in God's good Providence, never ceased to flow from our land for the watering of our Master's heritage among the heathen.

Warfare, meantime, had not ceased. The Yao and Nyasa races were unceasingly fighting for space to live in, and for slaves, and once the slavers attacked Mr. Procter and Mr. Scudamore, and nearly killed them, as they were peacefully trying to open a path from Magomero to where the Ruo joins the Shiré. Warfare maintained.

War brought famine in its train. With the enemy in their land, many people had neglected to plant and sow. They were now running short of provisions, and in a short expedition made by the Bishop and Mr. Scudamore to punish the village which had attacked their friends, they found starving people. Starvation was beginning to bring on fever, to which all the Mission party fell victims in their turn; on January 3, 1862, the Bishop and Mr. Burrup started on their last journey. They went to meet, as they hoped, the *Pioneer*, with the ladies of the party, and the stores which were badly needed, the rendezvous being the Isle of Malo, at the confluence of the Shiré, and its eastern tributary, the Ruo, now the boundary of the Nyasaland Protectorate. Famine in the Highlands.

What followed must be given chiefly in the Bishop's own words :—

“January 3, 1862.—This is the first time I have written in the name of this year. May it be to us and to you a year of greater grace and blessing than the last, and so may we abound more and more unto the coming of our Lord and Saviour. How curious saying this to you, and probably the year will be far gone Fever. The Bishop's last Journey.

before you read it! But you are saying the same things, and God hears the prayers of both, and will shower down on each the showers of His blessing in answer to the distant prayer, just as the rain rises from the distant ocean, and falls on the thirsty ground where He has appointed it. . . ."

At Chibisa's, Jan. 8. "January 8.—On Thursday, January 2, I got to Magomero. . . . We started next day. We have

established the custom of having a few prayers at our church before starting, and after return of any of our party on a journey. So we had prayers for those that remained and for those who were going, and we set off. It rained heavily, and we had hard work to get the Makololo into motion; from that till this morning we have had almost incessant rain. . . . We have seen the sun to-day, and this is a very beautiful place: a village perched on the top of a cliff overlooking the stream, which is now swollen much, and commanding a view of the valley of the Shiré, or at least its lowest level, extending four or five miles to the eastern hills. The valley itself, in a freer sense, stretches many a mile behind us to the west,—fine fertile land, studded with shrubs and trees, and apparently fit for any cultivation. I suppose, however, it is not so healthy as the higher lands.

"The men of this village are old friends, most of them, and all looks bright. I have been having many a laugh with them already. Thus it is that God gives us bright spots in our lives at the darkest, and how often bright tracts stretching over much of it!

"January 9.—I read Burrup this morning the *Keble* for xxvth Sunday after Trinity. I do so admire the last verses.¹

¹ "The promise of the morrow
Is glorious on that eve,
Dear as the holy sorrow
When good men cease to live;
When, brightening ere it die away,
Mounts up their altar flame,
Still tending with intenser ray
Toward heaven whence first it came.

"Monday, January 13.—Our suspense is at an end. We got here, the Ruo mouth, on Saturday, to learn that Livingstone had passed down not many days before. This, though . . . involving our staying here a good while, seemed good news to me, inasmuch as we have not detained him by arriving ten days after the time. We had, on the whole, a prosperous journey down. The chief at Chibisa's undertook to send us down to a chief, Turuma, where we should be likely to get a larger boat. . . . Accordingly on Thursday we set off at three, and got to Turuma's in half an hour. It was delicious, the floating down that broad, green-banked river. The uncertainty as to the length of the voyage gave it a dreaminess, like some parts of Southey's *Thalaba*. But, like *Thalaba*, our difficulties were not at an end. Turuma refused to see us, and declined to hire his boat to us. . . . Just then two of the Makololo, Zomba and Siseho, joined us, having walked down the bank. These (with Charlie) undertook to go down with us. So off we started, wondering at the way God was leading us. . . . Next morning we set off early. Burrup was far from well. . . . At night we drew to the shore. By this time the mosquitoes were very troublesome. One of the men said, 'We are going on.' It was better, they thought, to work by moonlight than to be eaten up by insects. After half an hour we found ourselves stranded on the flooded bank. . . .

"In a few minutes Zomba, the bowman, gave the signal for a start, and off we were again in silence. This time we were sooner in coming to grief. A sudden turn, which our bowman did not see in time, landed us

At the Mouth
of the Ruo,
Jan. 13.

Fatal Upset
of
Canoe and Loss
of Quinine.

"Say not it dies, that glory,
'Tis caught unquenched on high;
Those saint-like brows so hoary
Shall wear it in the sky.
No smile is like the smile of death,
When, all good musings past,
Rises wafted with the parting breath,
The sweetest thought the last."

again on a point where the stream parted in two ; the two men in the stern jumped out, up to their middle ; I followed immediately, Burrup after me. But in vain ; the canoe continued to fill, and we began to pull out our things . . . till we could get the canoe raised and baled out. Then the things were put in again, all soaking, and we wet up to our middles. . . . We were thankful our losses had been no worse, though it was not till next day we remembered that all our medicine was gone, and our spare powder. Fortunately the night was far from cold, or we might have taken harm ; as it is, Burrup is none the better for it. I think I have escaped any ill consequences. . . .

At
Chikanza's. "In the meantime we have been led to a very nice village. A benign, oldish chief, Chikanza, with a large population, occupying, I should think, about a hundred huts, willing that we should remain here. . . . I have my hopes that our being here in this way may be intended to prepare the village for being one of the stations to be worked by our Mission steamer (the University boat), for which I hope to write by this mail.

"So matters stand at present. Burrup is very low, and we have no medicine. Quinine, which we ought to be taking every day, there is none. But He who brought us here can take care of us without human means. If we *should* be down at once, Charlie will take care of us. The texts in Greek which we have learned day by day lately have been Romans ii. 29 ; iii. 21-23 ; vi. 23 ; vii. 24, 25 ; viii. 38, 39 ; x. 13-15. . . . Good-bye for the present."

Such was his farewell to earth, and had he known that it was such, he could not have chosen more touching texts than the last two,—one of quiet confidence for himself, the other of hope for the Mission.¹ One more letter, dated on the 16th, speaks of his plans for a Mission steamer, such as now plies on Lake Nyasa among a kindred race, and such

¹ "For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor principalities," etc. ; and, "How beautiful are the feet," etc.

a one as may yet visit the stations on the Shiré he loved so well.

We know little of the last fortnight. The Bishop soon fell ill, for want of the lost quinine. ^{Illness of the Bishop and Mr. Burrup.} Mr. Burrup was too ill then to help him much,

and far too weak afterwards to give much account of the Bishop's last days. He was mostly unconscious, or else speaking wandering words of being safe at Magomero with his sisters, for whom his loving heart had so longed. The last words he is known to have spoken were to tell the faithful Makololo that, "Jesus was coming to fetch him away." For the last week he was quite unconscious, and in this state, on the morning of January 31, Mr. Burrup had the grief of carrying



BISHOP MACKENZIE'S GRAVE.
(From a photograph taken in 1891.)

the dying Bishop out to die in another hut, which was of less importance to the chief Chikanza. The natives believe the spirit haunts the place where it leaves the body, and shut up a hut for three years after a death. The Bishop's spirit passed away at 5 p.m., and the same night, weak as he was, Mr. Burrup

Death of the
first Mission-
ary Bishop,
Jan. 31.

(aided by the Makololo) was compelled to bury him.

**The Grave by
the Shiré.**

A grave was dug on the left bank of the Shiré, under a large acacia tree, and in the darkness of night Mr. Burrup said as much as he could recollect of the Burial Service. And thus was laid to rest the first English missionary Bishop of modern times, and the first Bishop of the Universities' Mission, after just one year's work in the country which he believed GOD had given him for an heritage. The possession of a burying place was all he was to have ; yet that burying place has surely been the lode-star of mission effort. That apparently lost battle, fought by the brave little advanced piquet, has stirred up more "to follow in their train" than any other story of mission life.

**Death of
Mr. Burrup,
Feb. 22.**

Mr. Burrup at once returned with the sorrowful news to Magomero, and in three weeks' time he too had succumbed, and is buried at Magomero. He might have been saved had his friends been able to give him the stimulant and nourishing food he needed, but which he uncomplainingly went without.

**Miss Mackenzie
and Mrs.
Burrup return
to the Cape.**

Meantime, Captain Wilson, of H.M.S. *Gorgon*, brought Miss Mackenzie and Mrs. Burrup as far as Chibisa's, before they heard the sad news, which the natives at Malo had concealed in fear of being held responsible. Since their dear ones now needed them no more, it was decided that they should at once return with Captain Wilson to the Cape, Miss Mackenzie being too ill with fever to realize all that had befallen them. But though she was not to do the work so sorely needed for the native women, Anne Mackenzie went home from the grave of her brother to work for Missions

as faithfully in England as others were doing in Africa. Not only as the founder of the Mackenzie Memorial Mission in Zululand, but as the "Providence" of many another Mission, for whose needs she collected, and with whose workers she kept up a cheering correspondence—the name of Anne Mackenzie was a household word for fifteen more years.

Captain Wilson set up a simple cross, to mark the Bishop's grave, of materials at hand—the upright being a thick reed or pole, five feet high, with a bit of board nailed across, and the staves of a barrel heaped up round the base.

The Cross.

The Bishop had left a memorandum at Magero providing that the senior priest, or failing a priest, the senior deacon, or, failing him, the senior layman, should take temporary charge of the Mission; and thus Mr. Procter became head of a singularly united band of fellow-workers. The Bishop also ordered several books to be sent home to his family; among these his Consecration Bible, in which each of his consecrators had, at his request, written a text. This Bible, with the watch which stopped at the fatal immersion in the river, are now in the museum in the crypt of St. Augustine's College at Canterbury, that sacred spot whence the Mission had set forth.

The Rev. L. J. Procter becomes Head of the Mission.

The Relics at Canterbury.

Three sore evils had now fallen on the Shiré Highlands: War, for the Yao were steadily moving on with the certain advance of a strong nation; Famine, the result of drought and of war, for not only did the wretched natives try to live on the unripe corn and fruits, but by various misunderstandings the Mission stores failed to reach them; and, as a sure consequence, Pestilence was slaying its

The Mission
leaves Magomero for
Chibisa's,
April 25.

thousands. The Mission therefore decided to leave Magomero and the grave of Mr. Burrup, and, taking with them (of the released slaves) all the children, and such of the grown people as wished to come, they marched, in April, to Chibisa's. Here, finding that Dr. Livingstone's Makololo followers—who for some fault had been dismissed by him with only guns in their hands—had established themselves and grown rich by marauding, the Mission separated themselves, and built a village on the opposite bank, only fifty feet above the stream.

The First
complete
Church.

Here a small rough church of reeds was erected, with a gable end and a little porch. Two boxes, one on the other, covered with red velvet, formed the altar. The floor was covered with reed mats, and the seats were their store boxes. Clark, the shoemaker, writes :—

Clark's Letter. “It being my province to superintend our men in their work, the honour fell on me of building this, the first place devoted to the worship of God, in this part of Great Africa. My prayer is, that this may not be the last by many built in this land for the same great object, but I hope they may be more worthy of being styled churches than the present. The structure was begun and finished in five days. I must tell you that we have no church bell, and that the substitute for one is a native drum.”

These words should be remembered now that many churches, all better than Clark's poor effort, are already dedicated in Central Africa ; and still more should they be remembered, when in the future far more splendid buildings may take the place of these ; for surely none

will be more worthy than the church where these devoted men worshipped God in their day of sore trial :

“ Nor here the faithful eye can fail
 The brightening view to catch,
 That opened from that structure frail
 Of wicker work and thatch.
 For dear is e'en the first rude art
 That Holy Faith inspires :
 The whole is augured from the part,
 Achievements from desires.”

Good work was done here among their reduced number—about fifty of their people having died before from famine and disease. But the neighbourhood of the marauding Makololo, who were identified with the English, caused difficulties. These people were afterwards sternly rebuked by Livingstone, and have since grown into a great tribe, very friendly to the English.

Before the end of the year, the people of the land were living on roots. From this time the Mission records are a heart-rending account of endeavours to supply even their own people with sufficient food. “Wild-looking men, worn almost to skeletons, and with cords tied round their waists to lessen the pangs of hunger, roamed about, grubbing up roots, until, unable to go on any longer, they sank down and died.” Before January half the inhabitants of the Shiré Valley had died of starvation. The missionaries undertook long journeys to get food, and their own sufferings were great.

*Famine
increases.*

Mr. Scudamore fell ill.

“He was admirably fitted for his work,” writes Bishop Harvey Goodwin, of Carlisle, “cheerful, unselfish, well-judging, and appears to have been specially dear to Bishop Mackenzie, and in many respects not unlike him. No doubt the fever took hold on a constitution

*Death of Rev.
H. C. Scudamore,
Jan. 1.*

injured by unsuitable food. He became delirious, and on New Year's Day he passed away, murmuring, 'There remaineth a rest.'"

Mr. Rowley writes :—

"The Southern Cross was shining brightly over the hut in which he lay, and though my heart was sorrowful, I thought of the Cross of Calvary and was comforted."

Another grave was dug by the Shiré, and the natives mourned for their friend. He had mastered the language sooner than any of the party.

The Cape Men
go back. Early in 1863, soon after a cheering visit from Mr. Thornton, the geologist, the Cape men, Charles, William, and Job, returned to Cape Town. They were not now needed as interpreters, and it was thought advisable that they should go back to South Africa.

Death of Dr.
Dickenson
(March). Alas ! another of the Mission band was to be taken, Brave and hard-working Dr. Dickenson, to whom almost every member of the Mission owed his life, succumbed in March. Mr. Procter prayed with him, and he followed every word, saying, almost with his latest breath, "LORD Jesus, have mercy on me, a sinner." He was laid beside Mr. Scudamore.

"They were lovely and pleasant in their lives, and in their death they were not divided."

Clark returns
to England. Immediately after this, Dr. Livingstone and Dr. Kirk paid them a visit, and saved the life of Clark, the church builder, who, however, had to go back to England, but only to return to the Cape Colony, where he was ordained in 1875.

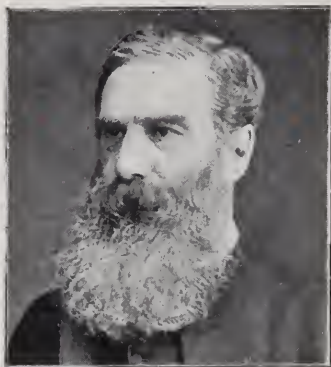
The Mission party now wrote word to the Metropolitan

that if help and fresh stores, especially of animal food, did not reach them by June 15, they should feel compelled to abandon the country. By that time, however, things looked brighter; the native corn had grown, peace was restored, and, better than all, the new Bishop, Dr. Tozer, with three clergy and three artisans, ^{Arrival of the Second Bishop, June 26.} was on his way. Before the end of June he arrived, and after much consultation, decided on removing the Mission to Mount Morambala, sending Mr. Procter, who had quite broken down, at once to Eng- ^{Removal of the Mission to Morambala, Aug. 7.} land. Mr. Rowley was also obliged, by fever, to return with him. Dr. Livingstone still clung to his belief in the Shiré highlands, and no doubt he was so far right, as that Morambala could never become a base of operations.

But when the time came for Mr. Waller to leave the Shiré, he could not bring himself to ^{Interview of Mr. Waller and Kapéné.} abandon the people who had trusted to the Mission. To take them all to Morambala was impossible. So he did a brave and wise thing. He sent to the dreaded Yao chief, Kapéné, who now possessed all the highlands, and said, "Come down and speak to us." Kapéné came, with his fifty mighty men well armed. Mr. Waller told him why they had interfered with his people, and explained how terribly the slave trade hurt all the African races. Then he asked Kapéné to protect the people left behind by the Mission, and who wished to become his villagers. Kapéné said they should be as his own children, and that as long as he could protect himself he would protect them. And he kept his word.

Finally Mr. Waller, on his sole responsibility ^{Orphans brought to Cape Town.} (for Bishop Tozer could not undertake it),

brought down the few helpless people and orphans who had none to care for them to the foot of Morambala, and at length brought about twenty boys and one girl to Cape



REV. HORACE WALLER.

(From a Photograph by Messrs. Maull & Fox.)

Town, placing the boys in the families of Mr. Lightfoot's coloured congregation, who adopted them with that great and unselfish generosity which is one feature of the African character.

The girl was
Anne Daoma.

Daoma, the little one whom Bishop Mackenzie had carried on his shoulder. She was received by Miss Arthur, at St. George's Orphanage, and was baptized in the

cathedral by the name Anne Rebecca. Never was a good deed better rewarded. Anne Daoma grew up a dear, good, gentle girl. Some years later, when Miss Arthur opened a Mission Day School for the very poor children around her, Anne was at once made infant schoolmistress. When Miss Arthur fell into ill-health, and had a difficulty in getting English helpers, she wrote warmly of Anne as one of her best assistants. Anne is now mistress of the Mission School, and lives at the Orphanage, the only home she can remember.

“If only one soul were won for Christ, our
Fruits of the
Mission on the
Zambesi. labour would be amply repaid.” How often we
hear such words at meetings and in sermons!

If they mean anything, this, as far as we can judge, is one tangible result of the Mission, besides the twenty other children, and the roll in Paradise of infants and others baptized at the point of death. And we have for ever the blessed memory of all that patient suffering, and of the holy lives and deaths of the missionaries, whose graves are the goal whither the Nyasa Mission is now tending.

One more practical result cannot be overstated. By an experience bitter beyond all possible expectation, the Mission had learnt the lesson that carelessness of life, and of the precautions for preserving health, is not wise for this world or the next ; that none, however strong, can afford to play with a tropical climate ; that certain rules of health can and must be kept ; and that to remain needlessly in a hotbed of fever, slighting the proper remedies, is not trusting, but tempting, Providence. These first missionaries had the bitter lesson to learn. To some extent they could not foresee these dangers, and did not know the precautions. But now that the lesson has been scored deeply on that page of Church history, those who neglect its warnings will die, not as martyrs, as Mackenzie, Burrup, Scudamore, and Dickenson did (the Church ever reckoning as such those who die for love, if they do not die for faith), but, in the words of Dr. Neale, as a very different character, described at some length in the Book of Proverbs.

Lessons of
the
Mission.

PART II.
THE SEED GROWING SECRETLY.

CHAPTER IV.
NEW GROUND, 1863-70.

"The whole world is but the one field of God. He, the Lord of the Harvest, can gather the seed from one quarter, and sow it where He will . . . and in the darkness He can cause it to spring forth." —BISHOP KING.



BISHOP TOZER.

June, 1862. THE second Bishop of the Universities' Mission was the Rev. William George Tozer of St. John's College, Oxford, and Vicar of Burgh-cum-Winthorpe, Lincolnshire, "a man," wrote his friend and colleague, Dr. Steere, "who shrinks from nothing and succeeds in everything."

Bishop Gray had hurried to England partly to consult the Home Committee about a successor to Mackenzie. The choice, entrusted entirely to the Metropolitan and the Bishop of Oxford (Wilberforce), fell on Mr. Tozer. Immediately his friends, the Rev. Edward Steere, LL.D., Vicar

of Little Steeping, and the Rev. Charles Argentine Alington, volunteered to go out with him. And his Friends.
Some mechanics, one of whom came from Burgh, and Mr. Drayton, from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, made up the party.

The Consecration took place in Westminster Abbey, on the Feast of the Purification, The Consecration,
Feb. 2, 1863.
1863, when Bishop Tozer and the first Bishop for the Orange Free State were consecrated by the Archbishop (Longley), the Metropolitan of South Africa, and the Bishops of Oxford, Lincoln, and Montreal. There was some difficulty about the oath of canonical obedience, which, it was feared, must, by the Jerusalem Act, be made to the Archbishop, and not to their own Metropolitan. Bishop Gray writes :—

“The Archbishop most anxious to do as I wished, but timid about the law. . . . I did not know till I came back from preaching for the Zambesi in the city, at ten o'clock at night, that all would be right. If I had not been very firm, we should have had two jurisdictions, and, as far as we could make it, two Churches.”

Consequently Bishop Tozer took the oath as a suffragan of the See of Cape Town. But a foreshadowing of the removal of the Mission was already to be noticed. The Bishop of Lincoln (Jackson), preaching at King's College, Cambridge, said :—

“It will be for him who now leads the Mission to watch patiently and wisely the indications of the Divine Will, and either to live and die in persevering and hopeful, even though they may long seem thankless, labours ; or, with a courage greater perhaps than would be demanded by martyrdom, to withdraw from a post

no longer tenable for God, and to turn elsewhere the peaceful invasion of the gospel."

And full authority was given to the Bishop to judge for himself.

Thus it was that when the Bishop reached the Zambesi and saw the state of things mentioned in the last chapter, he did not hesitate to accept that harder lot than martyrdom—a decision, against all popular applause, to remove the Mission altogether to some place which, if not healthier, should at least be more central, where food should be readily attainable, where the good seed might be sown and reared, and whence by another route the Great Lake might be reached and his title vindicated—"Bishop of the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and River Shiré."

The Morambala Settlement, mentioned in the last chapter, was but a temporary expedient, and it was now felt that the best basis for work in Central Africa would be either Zululand or the island of Zanzibar. To the former there were almost insuperable objections. It was quite too much cut off to form the key to the position, and Zanzibar was decided on.

Looking back, we see the great sagacity of this move, and wonder, as the Spaniards did of America, that no one had found it out before. But then every friend of the early Mission was dead against it. Leaving their people and the well-loved graves was a wrench, and Dr. Livingstone spoke strongly for the Shiré Highlands; while many at home took the same view, and the Mission had to run the gauntlet of disapproval almost

Zululand or
Zanzibar
proposed as
Basis.

Zanzibar
chosen.

Difficulties
attending this
Course.

all round. The London Committee approved, however, as also did the Metropolitan of Capetown, and the move was to be made. It was part of the old Keltic and Saxon puzzle over again. The Kelts worked in the desert and drew men after them. The Roman missionaries and the Saxons, when taught by them, chose the cities of men, and utilized civilization for the spread of the gospel.

One task the Bishop undertook before his departure, one link of the past with the present, and that was a visit to the lonely grave of his predecessor. With some difficulty they found the grave, the undergrowth having hidden it from view. The rough cross was still standing, and Mr. Alington made a sketch of the place, while the Bishop cleared the undergrowth and enclosed the grave. And then came a touching service of consecration. The ground, already hallowed by the body of God's faithful servant, received the Church's blessing. Then, standing round that grave in the wilderness, they sang "Nearer, my God, to Thee." A more permanent cross has since been erected by Dr. Livingstone.

Bishop Tozer
Consecrates
Mackenzie's
Grave,
June 23.

Bishop Tozer and Dr. Steere landed in Zanzibar on August 31, and stayed at first with Colonel Playfair at the English Consulate.

Aug. 31.
Landing at
Zanzibar.

This island,¹ which is twice as large as the Isle of Wight, lies about twenty miles from the coast of Africa, which is visible from Zanzibar. The interior is almost entirely given up to clove plantations, requiring immense care and watching, and worked by slave labour. On a sandy peninsula on the western coast stands

Description of
Zanzibar.

¹ This description of Zanzibar is true of the town as it was at the date of Bishop Tozer's arrival.

the city. Towards the sea there is a front of large white detached houses, the consulates and the Sultan's palace. Further in the houses are muddled together anyhow, with no streets; only, as every one must stand his scaffolding on his own land when he builds a house, they don't quite touch. Six feet is quite a respectable width for a lane in Zanzibar, and none are practicable for anything on wheels.

There were then two great open spaces—the Great Market, a square with a few stumpy towers, where a fruit market is held for three hours every morning, all the fruit coming in baskets on women's heads. The other space was the great open Slave Market. The little humped cows of Zanzibar, and even the bulls, run loose about the town in search of green food, and are very tame. This is the land of eternal summer, the sun rising always between twenty minutes to six and twenty minutes past six, and the average heat is 80° in the house. North winds prevail from December to March, south winds from June to October. Between these times the wind is uncertain, and rain falls.

It is extraordinary that a place of such political importance was practically unknown at this time to Europeans. Its trade was kept as a secret in the hands of a few American and German merchants, and it is to Bishop Tozer and his party that the credit is due of opening up what they were the first to see was the heart of Africa.

**The Sultan's
Power.**

The Arab Sultan of Zanzibar then ruled not only over the island, but held a protectorate over the whole coast from Guardafui to Delgado. There is literally no other town worth the name in all that 2,000 miles of coast. The Sultan's power reached as far into the interior as Lake Tanganyika, and his governor was

placed at Ujiji, the great market of the lake region of Central Africa.

One very important consequence of this is that with the Zanzibar tongue one can travel ^{Swahili Language.} anywhere in Eastern Equatorial Africa. This language is called Swahili, and is one branch of the great African or Bantu language, spoken in some form all down the Eastern half of Central and Southern Africa. Kafir and Zulu are well-known examples of Bantu; but with the African tongue Swahili has incorporated a large number of Arabic terms. It is the French of the Dark Continent. As an example of how far Swahili will carry the coast Arabs, we are told of a trader who started with merchandise from Zanzibar, taking his wife with him. After they had left the capital their son was born; when they reached the far-off land in the interior for which they were bound, the child could run alone, and by the time the parents returned he was twelve years old.

It will now be seen what were Bishop Tozer's motives in settling in the capital of East Africa, amid Arabs who are to the modern missionary what the Romans were to our forefathers—the great markers out of roads and openers up of commerce, and, moreover, the rulers who can always make their power more or less felt, and whose language is common to all tribes.

The father of the Sultan, whom Bishop Tozer found there, had come from Muscat, and partly ^{Different Nationalities on the Island.} inherited, partly conquered, the coast. The grandees are all Arab, but the merchants, great and small, are Indian, and, like the Arabs, Mohammedan; or else they are heathen Banyans. But among the lower orders are representatives of every African, and many Asiatic

racés. The population is estimated at from 150,000 to 200,000 souls.

Centre of Slave Trade. Another point of great importance was that it was the centre of the slave trade. As many captives as were not sold in the interior (for the slave-producing tribes are also slave-holders) were brought here year by year, some publicly sold in the market, but more, having paid duty like any other freight, were shipped off to Arabia.

From the moment of landing in Zanzibar, the Bishop determined on that work among native boys, with a view to a native ministry, of which his predecessor had dreamt, and which has proved such an important part of the work ever since. The Sultan Majid arranged for them to have a large house close to the sea, called **The old Mission House at Shangani.** Shangani, which had been used for British naval stores, and from which they could watch the ships coming in and out. He also presented them with five boys taken out of an illicit slave dhow, *i.e.*, one which had paid no duty. With these five boys the building up of the Church in Zanzibar began.

Sept. 4. For the first service of the Mission, in this new foundation, a temporary altar was erected in the corridor of the Consulate, and the Bishop preached on the text, "How shall we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?" The day after the removal to **Sept. 18.** Shangani, a permanent chapel was opened in the Mission House.

**1865.
May 13.
Capture of a
Slave Dhow.** The story of the next set of boys given by the Bishop must be told more at length. Far away inland a wretched troop of slaves had been caught and brought to the coast, and there packed

in an Arab dhow between decks. In a space two feet high, in heat unimaginable, were literally packed like herrings 300 human beings, fifty of whom were children. The dhow, after sheltering at Zanzibar, started off for



AN ARAB SLAVE DHOW.

Arabia, when the wretched slaves heard shots fired, one of which came among them and wounded a little girl. For about ten minutes a desperate battle was fought, and then the Arabs left the ship and swam to land; the fresh air was let in, and the wretched slaves, who had only un-

cooked rice to eat, and who were wasted to skeletons, were put on board a British man-of-war, and liberated.

**The Mission
Children.**

At this moment Miss Tozer and Miss Annie Jones, the first ladies who ever *reached* the Mission, arrived, and five of the boys and nine of the girls were presented to them and the Bishop—an Ascension Day gift. There were now twenty-three children under the care of the Mission.

**Aug. 24.
First Baptisms.**

On St. Bartholomew's Day the first public baptism took place. "The Bishop," writes Miss Tozer, "is at his pleasant work of making a font for to-morrow's delightful service. The font is a large new metal basin, set in a box draped in white and covered with flowers. This stands on a pedestal covered with a scarlet cloth, gold-bordered." Nine boys, *i.e.* all but the new arrivals, were baptized, behaving with great reverence. And this day, the festival of St. Bartholomew, has been kept ever since as the Mission anniversary. Among these nine boys were the first five: John Swedi, a Gindo; Robert Feruzi, a Nyasa; George Farajallah, Arthur Songolo, and Francis Mabruki, all Yaos. It is interesting to think of those five children at one end of the work, and of the hundreds of children and the hundred and sixteen native teachers after thirty years.

**Subsequent
History of these
five Boys:
Swedi,
Farajallah,
Feruzi,
Songolo,
Mabruki.**

In three years' time the four elders were confirmed; and their subsequent history is a sort of type of all mission work. John Swedi and George Farajallah gave themselves to the ministry on February 2, 1870, and were ordained sub-deacons. John, who is now a deacon, has worked on steadily for a quarter of a century, while George was called to his rest in a few weeks, reminding us of the lot of the

brother apostles, St. James and St. John. Robert Feruzi, named after Bishop Gray, became a noted caravan leader, and was one of Stanley's most trusted followers in the great journey from Zanzibar to the mouth of the Congo. When at home, he and his wife live in Zanzibar. Arthur Songolo was a sweet singer in the choir, and died young. While, alas! Francis Mabruki, who became a sub-deacon and worked well for some years, fell away, and left the Mission; for where is the field of the Church in which the enemy does not sow tares among the wheat?

Bishop Tozer had once been a student at Wells Theological College, and in memory of this an effort resulting in the Wells-Tozer Fund was made by old and new Wells men, with which the Bishop bought an estate two miles out of town, where now stands the Kiungani College, sometimes called Kiinua Mguu, dedicated to St. Andrew. Thus the first gift for training a native ministry came from those who had themselves had that blessing. The plots next the Mission House in town also were bought, but the Mission House itself was not bought till 1868. The boys were placed here, and the girls at the Shamba, under charge of Miss Jones and Miss Pakeman, in 1868; but for some time there were changes, puzzling to English friends.

The first lady to break down was Miss Tozer, who had been the life of the Mission House, and she returned to England in 1866, the Bishop having preceded her on account of ill-health.

Nov., 1864.
Purchasing of
Wells-Tozer
Estate and
Mission Pro-
perty in
Zanzibar.

1866.
The Bishop and
Miss Tozer
return to
England,
Dec. 3.

In April, 1869, Miss Jones became very ill, and Miss Pakeman felt the solitude so much that the Bishop changed houses with her, the forty-one boys, to their great satisfaction, going into the country with the Bishop,

Mr. Pennell, and Mr. Davis, and the girls to the Mission House. "It is amazingly pretty out here," writes the Bishop; "I never saw anything equal to the look of the place by moonlight. I think I never was in better heart about the work." In June the girls and boys changed

Dr. Kirk
Consul.
June 6, 1869.
Miss Jones
returns to
England.

places again. At this time the old friend of the Mission, Dr. Kirk, was at Zanzibar as Consul, and his care saved Miss Jones's life; but she, too, was obliged to return to England, and her place was taken by Mrs. Packe.

It was not till January, 1871, that the final change was made, and St. Andrew's College, Kiungani, became, what it has remained, the "School of the Prophets." The girls then moved into half of the Mission House in town.

Hidden
Work.

During these years there is little to relate. The Mission was taking deep root, and doing hidden, if not interesting, work. Though comparatively few in numbers, there were still some in England who knew and cared about it.

Nov., 1869.
The Cholera.

Visitations of fever and cholera break the narrative from time to time. The first cholera came in 1869. The Sultan ordered Mohammedan litanies

Dec. 10.

to be sung daily in procession, and prayers were said in the chapel. In the Mission the Rev. L. Fraser was attacked, and passed to his rest at the end of six days' illness.

Feb. 2.
The Revival of
the Sub-
diaconate.

This brings us to the appointment of George Farajallah and John Swedi as sub-deacons. The sub-diaconate was revived here and by Bishop Macrorie in Natal about the same time. Here it was to keep the boys' minds in harmony with the holy calling to which they were looking forward. It was fitting

that the seventh anniversary of Bishop Tozer's consecration should thus be marked. The care of the vessels of the sanctuary, and the waiting on those who ministered there, were mostly delivered to the sub-deacons, as well as reading Holy Scripture in Church, interpreting the teaching of the clergy, and the instruction of the young. Thus the first milestone on the way to a native ministry was reached.

But a grievous trial was at hand; cholera broke out again, and George Farajallah sunk under it. His body, wrapped in a native mat, was taken by sea in state to Kiungani for burial. "In a short time he fulfilled a long time."

March 21.
Death of
George
Farajallah.

Never before had the Mission been worked with so small a staff, the Rev. R. L. Pennell being the only priest, and Dr. Christie, the hon. physician of the Mission, being the only lay helper, except the ladies.

Before leaving the Island work we must just mention another of those deep foundations laid by Bishop Tozer with such foresight that all subsequent work has been a building up of what was then begun. This was the purchase of a parcel of land beyond Kiungani, called the Point Shamba, but since known as Mbweni. It was a lovely spot of about thirty acres, with a house on it, and has since become a colony for married couples and other adults, with the girls' school in the house; but at first it was used as a home for the smaller boys.

Sept. 8.
Purchase of
Mbweni.

On St. Luke's Day, 1871, the chapel at Kiungani was opened; and Samuel Speare, a young Englishman who singularly endeared himself to the Bishop, was placed at Mbweni with the little boys.

Oct. 18, 1871.

1867.
Beginnings
on the
Mainland.

Amid all this island work, the mainland was not forgotten. Day by day, as the missionaries looked across the sea with longing eyes, they saw in faith the day when the Promised Land should be theirs. If the Patriarchs patiently tarried, and counted not



A VIEW AT MAGILA.

the promise vain, though they never attained it, so the Mission felt they could wait God's time. And it came at last. Not at first from the direction of Nyasa, to which their longing eyes were turned, but from the mountain district of the North, the call came.

Usambara. Usambara is a hilly country, lying about forty miles from the coast. It is very beautiful,

and has been compared in turns to Scotland and to Switzerland. But we must not deceive ourselves into thinking these hills healthy. For when these elevations are swept by winds from the swamps, the inhabitants are liable to malarial fever. Usambara comes nearer a really mountainous country than most others.¹

Kimweri was at this time king of the land—an independent sovereign, though a tributary of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Of the four or five attempts during Bishop Tozer's episcopate to break up the fallow ground in Usambara, or, as it is called from its people, the Bondé country (pronounced Boondé), some account must be given. The English missionaries went there as a voice in the wilderness, to proclaim their message, to make straight the way of the Lord, but not as yet to settle down.

The Rev. C. A. Alington was the first to go, taking Vincent Mkono, one of the senior pupils. They landed at Morongo, a port in Tangata Bay, and picking up Khatibu, Dr. Steere's Swahili tutor, as interpreter, they struck inland, making for Vuga, Kimweri's abode. They found a beautiful land indeed. High volcanic mountains, some of them 6,000 feet high, here with bare granite heads towering up in fantastic forms, there clothed with turf or jungle to the summit. Ferns and magnificent trees abounded near the coast.

First Visit,
Aug. 13.
Rev. C. A.
Alington and
Vincent
Mkono.

¹ Nineteen years before Dr. Krapf had passed through this land, and cut out a large cross on the bark of a tree to take possession of the country for Christ. Well indeed is it that the dedication of the church at Magila should be in honour of the Holy Cross.

There are four of these ranges of mountains running north and south; four rivers water the land—the Zigi, the Mkulumuzi, the Ukumbini, and the Luari, or Luvu. Four manner of people occupy the country. Nearest the coast, on the eastern slopes, are found the Bondei race. The valley folk, and those who live towards the Luvu or Pangani, are Ziguas from further south. The Wasambara, or Shambala, live on the three inland ranges, and share the innermost with the Wakalindi. These are among those African races who have much that reminds us of the Semitic Orientals.

As Mr. Alington proceeded in his tramp over the red earth, he found, besides the euphorbias, mimosas, and palms so characteristic of an African land, the broad leaves of the India-rubber, the prickly smilax, the acacia, ebony and teak; and in later journeys the little pools and lakes were adorned with the lovely blue water lily. Less pleasant were the leopards and hyænas, who found an easy prey in the numerous antelopes; and, worse again, the lion is still king of the wilderness, and the slothful African may say with much truth, "There is a lion in the path."

When, after various difficulties, the party came in sight of Vuga, the natives begged for powder, and fired an irregular salute as Kimweri came forth to meet them. He was the fifth of his family who had ruled Usambara, ever since his ancestor gained his kingship by prowess in hunting the wild pig. He sent Mr. Alington a cow as a present for a feast, and then on the hill-top, on Michaelmas day, the ambassador of God met the African king, or, rather, the heir apparent, who presented himself as Kimweri.

Kimweri's
Interview with
Mr. Alington,
Sept. 29.

He said he was quite willing to let the English settle there, but must first consult the Sultan. Another day he brought two boys, and wished to hear a model lesson. Mr. Alington seized the opportunity to say he must build a school before he could teach; and the prince graciously accepted a folding chair, and had it carried everywhere with him. He asked for medicine [charms] against evil spirits, and was told of the true antidote—prayer to the God of spirits. He seemed afraid of their building a stone house, lest they should fortify it. Finally Kimweri told Mr. Alington to return when he had the Zanzibar Sultan's leave, and in November he left for Zanzibar to procure it. In January he returned, and on the road to Vuga met a war party of Ziguas going to chastise the hill folk for daring to have rain when the lowlands had none. Kimweri now sent to say he could not have white men in his capital, but they might build nearer the coast.

Jan. 20.
Second Visit,
Mr. Alington,
Mkono, and
Feruzi.

The actual place selected was Magila (called in early records Magira), a place geographically in the Shambala country, but speaking the Bondé tongue. The chief was a child, and a son of Kimweri.

Settlement
at Magila.

Here Mr. Alington began to build, setting up the first post in the name of the Holy and Ever-Blessed Trinity, on the eve of Trinity Sunday, "with prayer to God that His blessing might be with us, and the light of His truth go forth from the house now building." Who that to-day looks on Magila, a centre station, with others around—with its Church of the Holy Cross, its Mission houses and school, and large band of native Christians—can doubt that that prayer has been answered.

It would almost seem as if the spirit of evil had done

Tribal War
on Kimweri's
Death.

his utmost to keep the Faith out of Africa. Wherever our missionaries set their foot, there did they find tribal wars desolating the land. As on the Shiré, so here, Kimweri, the old chief, being dead, his sons and grandsons rent Usambara with war, which ended in one son, Semboja, establishing his power, subject nominally to the Sultan of Zanzibar.

Nov. 2.
The Bishop's
Visit to Magila.

With the exception of one short trip to Zanzibar, Mr. Alington remained here till October. In November he was accompanied back by the Bishop, the Rev. L. Fraser, William Jones, a layman, and two of the boys, Connop and Francis. The little chief of Magila, Kifungiwe, met them on the mainland, and accompanied them. They marched gaily along, one donkey being shared between the party! When they halted for the night, a short service was said, and "As now the sun's declining rays" sung. If, as Savonarola said, "a hymn is a singing angel," such messengers were with the party. The people received them, says the Bishop, as if they had been a circus, and especially enjoyed watching the toilet operations, which were loudly applauded. On the second day they reached Magila, situated on a low round hill, with a clear stream running through the place, and higher well-wooded hills around. The party, after surveying the villages around, returned to Zanzibar, leaving Mr. Alington in charge. But in January he was summoned to England, and left the Mission.

Third Visit,
April 21.
Rev. L. Fraser
goes to Magila.

The staff of clergy was now much reduced, yet the Bishop sent one—the saintly Lewis Fraser—to occupy Magila from April to December. At first he was alone, but afterwards the Rev. S. Davis and the young English lad, Sam Speare, who

had previously been admitted to the sub-diaconate, joined him for a short time, and with their aid a more permanent mission house was built in four days. It had ^{The second} a granite floor, covered with felt, and was partly ^{Mission House.} of corrugated iron. A portion was divided off for a chapel. With much satisfaction they took possession, going forth from the old ant-eaten hut to the new one, singing the Gradual Psalms. The chief came to the service, some sentences of which were in Swahili.

Mr. Fraser now began regular instruction, ^{Death of} the head man of Magila being "almost a cate- ^{Rev. L. Fraser,} chumen." And in the evenings he perambulated the vil- ^{Dec. 10, 1869.} lages to have short talks with the men. Good seed was sown then which bore fruit in after years, and gradually Kifungiwe, and another young man, Sago-sago, came to be taught. A school was begun, when want of men compelled the Bishop to withdraw Mr. Fraser and abandon the station. Mr. Fraser returned to Zanzibar, only however to hear his call to rest.

The Bishop paid a short visit to Magila next year, and afterwards sent the Rev. O. Hand- ^{Fourth Visit,} cock and Rev. R. L. Pennell there. They found ^{September.} Mr. Fraser's work unforgotten, and several gladly ^{Revs. O.} came to say the Lord's Prayer and the Creed, declaring ^{Handcock and} they used it daily. In less than a month they returned ^{R. L. Pennell} to Zanzibar, Mr. Handcock being very ill, apparently from ^{at Magila.} sun-stroke, and he entered into rest on Michaelmas Day.

The extreme quietness with which Bishop Tozer was thus laying sure and lasting foundations told on the work in England. Almost all he founded has flourished, but, as in the parable, while the seed was growing men slept, and thus it came to pass that the ^{The Supply} of Workers ^{nearly Falls.}

Mission was in danger of literally dying for want of workers.

But there were other sleepers ; and if the staff on earth was small, those who had "fallen on sleep" and were in Paradise were many. Their prayers were doubtless ascending, and doubtlessly being answered. "Even the net of the sleeping fisherman takes," said heathen wisdom, and then, as ever, the words were being fulfilled, "He giveth unto His beloved in their sleep."

CHAPTER V.

A FELLOW-WORKER.

*"And as of old by two and two
His herald saints the Saviour sent,
To soften hearts like morning dew,
Where He to shine in mercy meant ;
So evermore He deems His name
Best honoured, and His way prepared,
When watching by His altar-flame
He sees His servants duly paired."*

—KEBLE.

ON either side of the cross on the seal of the Sec of Rome are the holy Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul. It is by a union of the qualities of these "leaders in the Church's war" that the world has been won to Christ. And such a union was that of Bishop Tozer and his friend, Edward Steere, whose first mutual sphere of work was the Parish of Burgh, in Lincolnshire, in a church dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul.

Edward Steere, the only son of a ^{Edward Steere} (born, May 4, 1828). Chancery Barrister, was born in London, educated at University College School and at University College, graduating B.A. in the University of London in 1847, and LL.D. in 1850, when he was gold medallist. He was called to the Bar, but never cared as much for



BISHOP STEERE.

his profession as for the study of theology and philosophy. His Essay "On the Being and Attributes of God" for the Burnett prize (which was not awarded to him) is

Early Life. a very remarkable work. His amusements were botany, conchology, and printing, which last was to be so useful to the Mission.

1853.
Brotherhood
of St. Mary. The thought and sight of the sin and suffering of London led to the formation of the Brotherhood of St. Mary, a band of young men who, under the influence of Dr. Steere, met together for prayer and study, with almsgiving. This was soon merged

Guild of
St. Alban. in the Guild of St. Alban, into all aspects of whose work Edward Steere threw himself heartily, giving up the Bar altogether. Whether printing the notices, or putting up curtains in a mission house, or reading a "Catechetical Lecture of St. Cyril" with the Brotherhood, there was "a definite earnestness and living reality in all that he set his hand to." Students alone can fully appreciate the earnestness which led him at twenty-six to sell his books that he might have wherewithal to feed the poor.

May, 1855.
Brotherhood
of St. James. Ever desiring closer forms of devotion to his Lord, he founded the Brotherhood of St. James at Tamworth, one of the earliest attempts at community life for men since the Reformation. A year or two was enough to show that (like other early attempts) it would not succeed, and he now decided on taking Holy Orders in the diocese of Exeter, to whose venerable Bishop the Catholic party in the Church looked as a leader.

1856.
Ordination
to Diaconate. Dr. Steere was ordained to the Diaconate, and the curacy of Kingskerswell, near Newton Abbot, in Devonshire; and in 1858 he joined

his friend, Mr. Tozer, at Burgh, receiving Priest's Orders at Whitsuntide.

1858.
To Priesthood.

Much literary work had been accomplished during his Diaconate, including an edition of Butler's *Analogy*, with an Introduction by himself. Some amusement was caused by a fellow-candidate for Orders earnestly recommending him this edition, "by a man called Steere." Dr. Steere replied, "that he had some acquaintance with the book."

To the straggling village of Skegness, then part of Burgh, he brought his newly married wife (Miss Mary Beatrice Brown), and here he worked for a year, gaining the reputation of being "a downright shirt-sleeve man, and a real Bible parson."

Curate
of Skegness.

The Rectory of Little Steeping was then given him, and here in the low-lying lands of Lincolnshire, he spent three years—that period of retirement which all the great men of God have been granted as a preparation for work in this world or the next.

At Little
Steeping.
1859.

And then came the call. One day Mr. Tozer walked into Little Steeping Rectory with a letter from Bishop Gray, offering him the Central African Bishopric. He came to seek advice from his friend, and he found a fellow-worker. The party at Little Steeping had already been discussing the offer, and Mrs. Steere had advised her husband to go and settle his friend in the African work, which advice, as will be seen, he took.

1862.
The Call
to
Mission Work.

The Bishop of Lincoln spoke thus of Dr. Steere in the sermon already quoted on page 45 :—

"Another, who with collected stores of no ordinary information, and cultivated habits of study and thought, and well able to

express with his pen the results of reading and meditation, might perhaps have felt himself discharged from the obligation of a missionary's work abroad, by his ability to defend the truth at home, and to extend thus the gospel's sway from the quiet study of his own retired parsonage."

But whenever and wherever the Master's call is heard, only by doing despite to the Spirit of Grace can it be resisted. At first, indeed, with his family ties, he thought it right to go only for a time, leaving his living in charge of a curate, and apportioning the surplus income of his benefice to the carrying out of certain improvements. Mrs. Steere, meantime, remained with her own family.

Linguistic
Work.

Until the settlement at Zanzibar, Dr. Steere's history differs little from that of his friend. But when settled in the capital of East Africa, he began the great work of his life, the study of the Swahili language, which twenty years before had been only a spoken tongue, with no literature whatsoever. Then a great and good man, Dr. Krapf, had been sent out in 1844, to Mombasa, on the coast, by the Church Missionary Society. His linguistic work is thus described by Bishop Steere :—

"Within a very short time indeed the doctor had collected vocabularies in a great number of the Eastern¹ languages, had compiled a dictionary of the Swahili or coast language, and had translated into it nearly the whole of the New Testament, and a great part of the English Prayer-Book. Having settled at Mombasa in the Nyika country, he translated St. Luke's Gospel into that language, and compiled a dictionary and grammar; of all these works only a small part was printed."

¹ *i.e.*, East African.

Besides this difficulty, a serious one for students, Dr. Krapf had accepted a dialect of Swahili for the main stem of the language, and his translations were not much understood at Zanzibar. Therefore, though the materials were useful, Dr. Steere determined to go to work afresh, and in five years' time completed the Gospel according to St. Matthew, and also compiled a Handbook of Swahili.

St. Matthew's
Gospel translated and a
Swahili
Handbook
compiled.

His plan was to get some learned Swahilis to come and talk to him every Saturday morning, he asking questions, learning, and correcting, and he considered that to them he owed all that was best in his knowledge of African tongues. He seems to have possessed that innate faculty of rendering good language into good language (which translators so often miss) with that felicitous union of pure and elegant construction, with a popular and simple method of expression, which marks a certain genius in the translator, and stamps the early literature of a nation on the hearts and tongues of a people.

"The best grammarian is the best theologian," said Luther, and no doubt Dr. Steere's work during those five silent years has done more for the theology of Eastern Africa than the work of any other five years since.

When Dr. Livingstone met Bishop Mackenzie's party at the Zambesi, he said to them, "If you men have sufficiently reduced the language in twelve years so as to be able to preach to the natives, you will have done good work." Thus Dr. Steere's work was marvellously rapid; though probably Dr. Livingstone was right as to the length of time before one becomes intelligible in a new *unwritten* language.

As a specimen of Dr. Steere's difficulties in moulding

Swahili
Word
for "Soul,"

the language, the following is interesting—on the right word for "soul," written fifteen years after beginning his Swahili studies :—

"I heard from Mbweni that the people understood 'Roho' to mean 'the heart.' I did not know it before. However, I suppose that the heart is a very fair analogue for the soul. It is certainly a very great deal better than 'Kizuli'—the shadows. Of course people believe in apparitions after death, but we must not make these do duty for immortal souls. I take it the whole idea of the soul is new, and has to be taught, and then the word it is tacked on to gets a new meaning, as 'Roho' and 'πνεῦμα' both mean simply 'breath.' It must have been a puzzle at one time how the breath could be immortal. But the 'kizuli,' like the shades of old classical times, seem to be thoroughly and hopelessly heathenish."

We are reminded of Caxton's difficulties, when trying to crystallize English out of many dialects. "Lo! what should a man in these days now write? Certainly it is hard to please every man by cause of diversity and change of language. . . . After that I had made or written a five or six quires, I fell in despair of this work." One recollects also how the missionaries in China, preaching before they knew the language, used the title of an inferior deity for God. So that these years of study, if not romantic to read of, were well spent.

When God has a great work for a man to do, first He trains him for it. Dr. Steere's knowledge of printing was now invaluable, and he taught some of the native lads to print, this being one of the few industries which the boys learnt in those days.

Returns to
England.

In 1866 Dr. Steere, having been three years with his friend, was preparing to return home,

when (as has been said) Bishop Tozer broke down and sailed for England, Dr. Steere remaining in charge till his return on July 17, 1868. A month later he sailed for England.

1868,
Aug. 9.

Up to that time, the only Swahili attempted in the Church services consisted of the Lord's Prayer and the hymns. Of the latter, Dr. Steere translated a good many. He was much averse to "prettiness," and also to images which are incorrect. Thus he criticised,—

Hymns in
Swahili.

"Birds and beasts and flowers
Soon will be asleep."

as not universally true, especially in Africa. "Thou makest darkness that it may be night: wherein all the beasts of the forest do move."

When Dr. Steere left Zanzibar, the Chief Vizier gracefully said, alluding to his linguistic work, that he was "building a bridge over which the thoughts of Zanzibar might pass to England, and English learning and wisdom find their way to Zanzibar."

But Africa is a magnet to those who have worked there; and few of her adopted children can ever say, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem," without a thought of that sunlit land. And when, in 1872, came the news that Bishop Tozer was breaking down under the strain of that terrible cholera visitation, and the loss of all his clergy but one, Dr. Steere at once determined to resign his living, and, leaving his wife to follow (which through ill-health she was never able to do), he literally forsook "wife and friends, and all that he had," and sailed in the *Abydos*. Miss Tozer started to join her brother at the same time.

1872.

Dr. Steere and
Miss Tozer
return to
Zanzibar.

March 17.

As the ship came in, they passed the Mission House at the Old Consulate; and the Bishop, recognising his sister to his great joy, hastened to meet her, not having expected her. But his thankfulness was more than doubled when he met the faithful friend who accompanied her.

April 15.
The Hurricane.

Just four weeks later a great misfortune befel Zanzibar. The only hurricane which within the memory of man had ever fallen on the island desolated the town, and sunk every ship in the harbour except the *Abydos*. Generally the hurricane line keeps out of quarters so close to the equator. Within the Mission House no lives were lost, but the corrugated iron roofs were stripped off with such an awful noise that the thunder could not be heard, the wind blowing hard from S. to S.W., the rain streaming down the staircase. The children sat huddled together in one sheltered corner, when, with two mournful tolls, the bell and bell turret collapsed. Then came the sudden lull, marking that they were in that "heart of peace" which is the centre of a cyclone.

The Bishop and Dr. Steere went out to see how others fared, and had just returned when the anti-cyclone began to blow from the north with greater energy than before. Many were separated, for no one could move; and Mr. Pennell, who was ill, was quite alone. A wild sea-bird was blown into the midst of the frightened boys, who found some consolation in stroking the suddenly tamed creature. By the evening the cyclone was over; but the sea was washing against the foundations of the house, and all were driven out for the time. Their chapel was wrecked, the organ ruined with salt water, and the loss of life in the town and shipping was fearful.

After the hurricane even Dr. Steere had an attack of fever, and several children died. In July, to the great loss of the Mission, the Rev. R. Lewin Pennell sank to rest. He had worked well and most unselfishly, and had just translated the Gospel according to St. Luke into Swahili, when, from the translation of the Divine Canticles on earth he passed to join in the eternal song that ceaseth not.

July.
Death of
Rev. R. Lewin
Pennell.

His Transla-
tion of St.
Luke.

Through failing health Bishop Tozer had struggled on, but this grief fairly broke him down, and he sailed first for Seychelles and then for England, where, in April, 1873, he resigned the headship of the Mission, whose foundations he had been contented to lay in quietness and in confidence, and on which he had generously spent himself and his means.

Bishop Tozer
leaves Zanzi-
bar for Sey-
chelles.

April.
Resignation
of
Bishop Tozer.

Dr. Steere was thus left head of the Mission for two years before he became Bishop. During this time only two events need be recorded—the visit of Sir Bartle Frere, with its far-reaching consequences, related in the next chapter; and the re-establishment of the Usambara work.

July, 1872.
Bishop Steere
becomes Head
of the Mission.

It has ever been considered a mark of the Church's vitality that, in times of difficulty her work can be carried on without much of what is usually necessary for her being. Thus, while Zanzibar itself was without episcopal care, and the mainland without clergy, the important station of Magila was about to be occupied by four mere youths in Minor Orders.

Dr. Steere had received a message to beg that he would send the Mission back to Magila.

1872.
Re-occupation
of Magila.

Not in a vision, but face to face, a man of Swahili race stood and said, "Come over and help us."

Oct. 8.
The Sub-
Deacon sent
to Magila.

The Doctor had no clergy to send, but there were the young sub-deacons. The two natives, John Swedi and Francis Mabruki, had married two of the Mission girls, and earnestly desired definite Mission work. With them was to go Samuel Speare, the English lad, in whose good sense (though only nineteen) the greatest confidence was felt, and Benjamin Hartley, a young schoolmaster. They met in the chapel to receive their *Ite missa est* from Dr. Steere.

So noble and helpful a speech ought to be written in letters of gold :—

Dr. Steere's
Speech when
dismissing the
Sub-Deacons.

"Brethren, you are going on the noblest errand on which it is possible for men to go. You are sent as God's messengers to publish His acts and explain His counsels. The more completely you can forget yourselves and remember only Him, so much the better will your work be done. God has looked with compassion upon the sinful and the miserable, and sends you to tell them that He loves them. God has sacrificed Himself, left His glory, taken a human nature, and in that nature suffered and died, that He might be able to deliver men from sin and hell.

"He sends you now to tell them what He has done for them. If none will receive your message, still God's part has been done, and you will have done yours if you have faithfully declared it. You will not be asked at the last day, How many professing converts have you made? but, Have you faithfully declared the whole counsel of God? Let this be your purpose, and let nothing hinder you from it. Let there be no attempt to soften or conceal your message. . . . Do not expect immediate success. It is better to work slowly than hastily, and I shall not be disappointed—and you must not be so—if you seem for some

years to preach and teach in vain. Darkness, as old it may be as the flood, is not likely to be dispelled quickly.

“You will, as often as you can, openly read and explain the written Gospels. You will teach the prayers, and hymns, and psalms to those who may be willing to learn them. In regard to your own outward demeanour, you will take care to avoid all reasonable ground of offence. You must not be proud and self-reliant, but must be ready to suffer wrong rather than exact your extreme rights.

“Follow, as far as you can, the customs of the place and people. Quarrel with no one, however much you may be provoked. Treat no one with contempt. Never use violence or hard language. Be moderate in eating, drinking, and sleeping. Remember in all things the character you bear, and seek to do as Christ would have done in your place. Try to understand the thoughts and difficulties of the people you live amongst. Try to put your message in such words, and deliver it in such a manner, as may make it most intelligible and most acceptable to your hearers.

“Do not be afraid to say out all you have to say ; but do not, if you can help it, say it in such a way as to provoke blasphemy. Do not grow weary in well-doing. God is with you ; and though you may see no result, your labour is not in vain. If you find yourselves in danger from war or tumult, do not be in a hurry to escape ; if your people stay, it will be best for you to stay with them. Ever in the extremest danger God can save you. Set your faces steadily against all superstitious fears ; however strong evil spirits may be, God is stronger. If you should ever be in danger because of your religion, look upon that as a special honour, and do not shrink from meeting it. In any case, whether from disease or violence, do not fear death ; for what men call death is really the gate of peace and joy to all true Christians. But our prayer for you is that you may live long and happily, and have such success that you may be counted amongst those who, having turned many to righteousness, shall shine as the stars for ever and ever.

“Meditate upon these things, and look continually up from earth to God in heaven ; and so may God’s presence and God’s blessing be with you abidingly.”

Samuel
Speare’s
History.

Some account of Samuel Speare, the village lad who became a missionary, must now be given. He was born at Rickinghall, in Suffolk, on January 15, 1853, and came of as poor but as good a home as can be imagined. Before he was thirteen, he became the breadwinner of the large family, his father being laid aside by illness.

1866.
Francis Ma-
bruki at
Rickinghall.

The parish took a deep interest in Missions, and through all privations Sam always earned his Mission pence to bring to the meetings. In 1866, Bishop Tozer brought Francis Mabruki to England, and gave him for a year into the care of the parish priest of Rickinghall. Sam and Francis became friends. The latter was much surprised to find how many English people do not go to church, and asked if they were Christians. His mind was also exercised as to why people lounge instead of kneeling.

This friendship with Francis Mabruki only strengthened the desire Sam had always felt to be a missionary. It must have seemed impossible at first that such a mere lad, poor and half-educated, could be chosen for the work. But his character for steadfastness, reserve, and gentle, helpful ways was early formed. “If you want a kind hand-turn done,” said his neighbours, “Sam Speare is the boy to ask to do it.” And so Bishop Tozer decided to take him to Africa, and sent him to the Choir School at St. Andrew’s, Well Street, for a time. At fifteen the boy was confirmed, and sailed for Zanzibar.

During his five years there he had wonderfully good health, living at first among the other boys, studying conscientiously. "I have just begun to do Cæsar's works in Latin," he wrote at the end of a year. Greek and theology followed. He was sent to Kiungani, and here he worked at anything that came to hand—cutting paths, clearing the little cemetery, planting trees, while his influence among the boys was excellent; until the bishop could write home that Sam's bearing and manner were so developed, no one would know him for the ruddy country boy of two years before.

Speare at
Zanzibar.

In all his letters one can see his heart is in his work. Happy in the quiet fulfilment of unexciting duties, he wonders in his gentle way at the want of interest in Mission work. He was working in Zanzibar through all those years of trouble—cholera, cyclone, and death of workers.

"Are people's hearts made of stone that they don't care to come out to preach the gospel to the poor heathen of Africa?"

And again :—

"Ah ! missionaries, where are they? Are all of them out in foreign lands? Are all the shepherds at work among the flock? No; but we must wait. . . . God's time has not yet come."

Then came his own advancement to the subdiaconate, and the work at Magila, of which Miss Tozer writes :—

At Magila.

"It really was touching to hear of four boys, two white and two black, all under twenty-two years of age, holding up the Cross alone against heathendom, in that desolate place."

The idea was that when Mr. Speare (as he was now called) was ordained, he should return, and make Magila

his headquarters. The lads set to work to build houses : Mabruki and Swedi, with their wives, had one each, and a third was for the white men. And in his thorough way Mr. Speare determined they should be good houses.

“They wanted to put us off with a small round hut, large enough just to put a few fowls in.”

To the best of their ability they held services, which some of the natives attended, John and Francis being able to speak to them in their own tongue.

July 5.
Returns to
England.

Five years having nearly passed since Mr. Speare left home, his heart turned more and more to those he loved in England, and to his parish priest now working in Zululand. He longed to return to England to prepare for deacon's orders. “But of course it cannot be thought of yet,” he wrote. However, as soon as the Rev. J. Midgeley arrived, Dr. Steere sent Mr. Speare home, and his friends were much struck with the “dignity and calm” of his young manhood.

The old home was visited, and then he settled down at Burgh, in Lincolnshire, to help in a middle school and prepare for Holy Orders. But his lungs could not stand the damp climate, and in November he fell ill. His old mother came to him and nursed him, but on Nov. 11, St. Martin's Day he was taken from them, and from the work he loved, striving to the last to pray between each gasp for breath.

Nov. 11,
Death of
Mr. Speare.

Miss Tozer wrote :—

“His pure and peaceful life was, I suppose, as spotless as any young man's could be.”

Like his namesake of old, his life's motto was, “Speak,

Lord, for Thy servant heareth." Few realize what good stuff there is in our Sunday schools, and that to them we must look for the answer to Samuel Speare's pathetic question, "Are missionaries scarce nowadays?"

A few weeks later, his friend, Ben Hartley, was killed near the coast by Arab slave dealers.

1874.
Feb. 15.
Death of
Mr. Hartley.

In May, 1873, the great traveller and missionary, who was one of the founders of the Universities' Mission, died at Ilala. Since 1866 he had discovered Lake Bangweolo, and had been travelling round that district and Tanganyika, searching partly for the fountains of Herodotus, which he believed to be the source of the Nile.

May 4.
Death of
Livingstone.

When his faithful followers, Susi and Chuma, prepared the body for embalming, they performed a most significant and pathetic rite, for they took the heart which had loved Africa so well and truly, and there they buried it, in the sort of grave he had said he should prefer, "in the still, still forest." Faithfully those leal followers fulfilled their trust, and "still entombed in the heart of Africa is the heart of David Livingstone."

Livingstone's
Heart.

Chuma had been one of the Mission boys on the Shiré, and he and Susi brought the body to Zanzibar, and sailed for England. A public funeral was celebrated in Westminster Abbey, where over his grave may be read his last message:—

1874.
March 11.
April 18
Funeral in
Westminster
Abbey.

"ALL I CAN ADD IN MY SOLITUDE IS, MAY HEAVEN'S RICH BLESSING COME DOWN ON EVERY ONE, AMERICAN, ENGLISH, TURK, WHO WILL HELP TO HEAL THIS OPEN SORE OF THE WORLD."

Aug. 24.
Dr. Steere
Consecrated.

The Abbey saw another ceremony important to Central Africa that year, for on St. Bartholomew's Day was consecrated Dr. Steere. His *Nolo Episcopari* had been very sincere, and had lasted two years. He was the man who had advised the Bishop to resign, he said. The men of the older Universities could hardly be expected to work under him; he was not a traveller, and a traveller was needed. But by degrees all objections were overcome. Another happy memory was thus added to the Festival of the Mission.

With the new Bishop began a new state of things. Hitherto the Mission had been largely supported, first by Bishop Mackenzie's private friends, and then by Bishop Tozer's. Now had come "a man who had no friends," as he said. Finance was at a low ebb and workers were few. Bishop Steere took a bold resolution.

The Mission
Re-constituted
Financially.

He faced the English public and the English Universities with the almost untried demand that they who came to the work should either support themselves, or else that having food and raiment they should be therewith content. £20 a year to such as need it is, in addition to their maintenance, the utmost the Universities' Mission offers to those who must also take their lives in their hands, and forsake (often never to meet again) their dear ones at home.¹

Well did he judge that the fine spirit of self-sacrifice to which he thus appealed was not dead in our land. The answer to that call has never failed. One priest and a scanty handful of lay workers remained at that date in the Mission. The Receipts in that year were £2,150

¹ See also Appendix N.

and the Home expenses £49. But since then, from the foremost ranks in our Universities, from the skilled teaching of our hospitals, from quiet parishes, and from the pick of our public schools, middle schools, and village schools, from homes of refinement and culture, have come forth to the Master's work among His lost sheep in Africa saintly men and women for practical work, skilled work, and intellectual work; till the place of the half-dozen Europeans is taken to-day by eighty-seven; and the number of those who have been called from the service of the Mission on earth to bear its needs on their hearts in the more immediate presence of the Lamb, which had reached but a dozen then, has in twenty years swelled to more than sixty.

Verily the promise has been fulfilled, "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find."

PART III

THE GRAIN OF MUSTARD SEED.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CHURCH IN THE SLAVE MARKET.

"Th' old order changeth, yielding place to new."

—TENNYSON.

**Bible Teaching
on
Slavery.** OF all the lessons which, in His gradual education of the human race, God has with infinite patience taught His children, none has been learnt more slowly than that of Mercy. In Old Testament times there is little at first ; and very gradually, line upon line, other lessons being scarcely learnt as yet, the chosen people were taught that He, who is a God of power, knowledge, and justice, is also a God of mercy and lovingkindness. The practical lesson drawn from that bitter period, when they were themselves a nation of slaves, is enforced again and again by Moses in the plains of Moab to the generation that had arisen in the wilderness : "Remember that thou wast a bondman in the land of Egypt." But all they were taught as yet was not to make slaves of their own race, and not to oppress cruelly those bondmen of other races whom they were permitted to have.

Little more was understood, even of the Prophecies of Isaiah, till He came in Whom there was neither bond

nor free, and Whose mission was to proclaim deliverance to captives. But when once the idea was grasped that the slave and his master were as brothers beloved, "both in the flesh and in the Lord," the Divine doom of slavery was spoken.

And how slow to learn the lesson European civilization showed itself, is well known to the youngest reader of history, who sees that even Roman civilization and Roman Christianity six centuries old had not abandoned the open sale of slaves in the Roman slave-market.

That the English race owes its Christianity to the fact that North Anglian youths were exposed for sale at Rome, and there noticed by "Gregory our Father, who sent us Baptism," seems to impose a duty on us, of all nations, to bring the teaching of Christianity to bear on the enslaver, and the light of Christ's love to the enslaved races of earth.

Gibbon says it was not till the thirteenth century that the influence of Christianity quite put an end to the practice of enslaving prisoners of war. And shall we lose patience with the African races who have not learnt the lesson in thirty years?

Setting aside South Africa,¹ and especially the Kafir and Zulu races, who are neither slaves nor slave-holders (it is said you cannot turn a Zulu into a slave, —he is inconvertible!) we must keep before our minds the fact that African races see no harm in slavery, but own and sell slaves freely. The slaves Bishop Mackenzie and Dr. Livingstone set free were on

¹ A chapter on Slavery will be found at the end. What is here given seems enough for the general reader.

their way to be sold in the interior. We blame the Portuguese, who have probably carried on the slave trade more cruelly than any race, but it is the Coast Arabs and the natives who mainly keep up the dreadful trade. There are no caravans expressly fitted out on the eastern coast for catching slaves, but almost all Arab traders deal in them as they can.

An Arab Slave Raid. A vivid account of an Arab raid on a village in the heart of Africa was given to the writer by an African, born while his parents were in slavery to a native tribe. First, an Arab caravan comes to a village and pitches outside for weeks or even months, making quite a second village. They barter, make friends, and perhaps buy slaves. If the headman of the village has any criminals waiting for punishment, he sells them; but perhaps he has none, and perhaps the Arabs have a commission for a larger number than can be supplied. They strike their tents for that time; but they reappear, perhaps, next year, pitch in their old quarters, and open a market. But one night there is a cry heard throughout the native village. Beside every hut stand two armed Arabs: one sets fire to the hut, the other knocks the owner on the head as he comes out. The women and children are secured, and sometimes the man—if not killed. The darkness and suddenness prevent any resistance; the superfluous children are left in the burning huts, and when morning comes a few fugitives creep back to the desolate village, while the slave-troop is already on its way to the coast, unless the women are wanted as wives or slaves by some other tribe.

The waste of life on the way is horrible. A slave must never escape, nor be left behind ill, which might mean

escape. Dr. Steere wrote in 1873: "Mr. West is just returned from a trip in the *Shearwater*. They found Kilwa a poor place, and all about it full of bones and skulls. The slaves were being marched thence up along the coast," and three years later he wrote of the horror of walking in the track of a slave caravan in the Rovuma district, each day's march marked by one or more murdered bodies. "Surely if there could be a holy war, it would be against traffic which bears such fruits as these." In that journey of between two and three months they passed nine caravans, numbering little short of two thousand slaves in all. This is a very faint picture of the slave-trade horrors—for horrors are not good to read, and must either harden or break the heart; so that witnesses draw a veil over much of the barbarity.

The March of
the
Slave Gang.

In Zanzibar, domestic slavery even then was not cruel. Arab slave-owners generally treat their slaves well. Among the lower classes it is difficult to tell a slave from a freed man; for slaves sometimes pay their masters a fixed sum, and all they earn beyond that being their own, they marry and live much as free men.

Slavery in
Zanzibar.

A great many work in the clove plantations; and when we use this pleasant spice, or deaden pain with oil of cloves, we little think how much slave labour it represents.

Clove
Plantations.

The Arabs, though not cruel masters, are perfectly callous, and absolutely do not care for suffering. A dying slave is useless, and he is therefore cast out to die. At the custom-house, where rates for imported slaves were paid to the Sultan, a few dying creatures might be seen, left outside to escape the rates in case of death—nay, the very sea had cast up not only its dead (thrown overboard just

before the dhows reach land), but its dying, whom the Mission had sometimes tended in their last moments.



DRYING CLOVES AT DUNGA, ZANZIBAR.

(From a photograph by J. T. LAST, ESQ.)

The Slave
Market at
Zanzibar.

But the crowning horror and degradation was the open slave market at Zanzibar. There it was, with its huge whipping post for the refrac-



THE OLD SLAVE MARKET, ZANZIBAR.

(From a picture in the possession of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.)

tory. "That slave market," said Sir Bartle Frere, "where I saw the slaves lying in dozens and in scores, some of them chained, and all them bearing on their faces and emaciated limbs the stamp of servitude." It was the last open slave market in the world. How long it had been there as a curse upon earth no one knows, but for generations men and women had been sold there, husband parted from wife, mother from child. "There," says Bishop Steere, were the "rows of men, women, and children, sitting and standing, and salesmen and purchasers passing in and out among them, examining them, handling them, chaffering over them, and bandying their filthy jokes about them, and worse scenes still going on in all the huts around."

Oh, if there could be a spot on earth that our Lord Himself could not look upon, it must have been this, defiled with infamy, stained by cruelty, darkened by the bitter tears and misery of those made in His own image. And did any spot ever so need a Redeemer? Were not these poor Africans in His heart on that Sabbath day in the synagogue of Galilee when He read His own mission to bind up the broken-hearted? The accepted year had tarried long, but it had come at last.

Meeting at
Winchester
House.

Two years before Sir Bartle Frere's visit, he was present at a meeting of the General Committee of the Mission under the presidency of its chairman, Bishop Samuel Wilberforce, to consider African slave trade. An offer of Bishop Tozer's to undertake the care of all slave children liberated in Zanzibar, if food and clothes were supplied by Government, was conveyed to the Foreign Office. It was fitting that this meeting at Winchester House, with the son of the great setter-free

of slaves in the chair, should strike the first of that series of blows which is surely destroying the abominable traffic.

Sir Bartle Frere, formerly Governor of Bombay, and afterwards Governor of the Cape Colony, was sent on a mission to Seyid Bar-ghash, Sultan of Zanzibar, from the British Government, to try to stop the slave trade, the English conscience having been awakened by the reports of Livingstone and the missionaries.

(January.)
Sir Bartle
Frere's
Mission.

Sir Bartle arrived early in the year. The Sultan said—and said truly—that he had very little power without his chief men; he would ask them. They replied that it was blasphemous to change what Abraham and Ishmael had done; that as all their fathers had held slaves, there always would be slaves, and so a slave trade, as long as the world lasted. Nevertheless there were signs that they were a good deal impressed by the interest of so great a queen, and by the high character of the envoy.

Sir Bartle Frere greatly admired Dr. Steere, and was deeply interested in the work of the Mission, and in the one hundred and ten children under its care. On his return to England he pointed out the very useful secular work the Mission was accomplishing by its translations, and its schools, where trustworthy interpreters could be found. He very strongly wished that more *industrial* work could be done in the schools, and that each child might learn some handicraft. He thought there would be not so many “failures,” for the larger number of the boys educated in the schools would not become clergy or even teachers; there must be *some* educated laity in every community, and no disappointment need be felt if a boy became a good car-

Sir Bartle
Frere's Account
of the Mission
Work.

penter, mason, or printer. He was much struck with Mbweni, the beautiful plantation, Bishop Tozer's last purchase; and feeling sure the time was near when there would be numbers of freed adult slaves, he was anxious that a colony should be planted here.

That time indeed was at hand. Sir Bartle Frere departed, and in his stead appeared nine men-of-war: an English admiral with six ships, two French ships, and one American ship. Then the Sultan sent for his chief men, and they consulted. The form of the present European argument against slave-trade was convincing, and they gave in. A treaty was signed, the actual draft of which will be found in chapter xix.

June 6. Treaty
Signed to Abol-
ish Slave Trade
by Seyid Bar-
ghash.

It forbade any more slaves to be brought across the sea. Such slaves as actually existed in Africa or Zanzibar continued as slaves, but could not be transported. The children of slaves, born in slavery, also remained slaves for the present. But the great slave market was to be closed at once and for ever, with all the subsidiary markets in the coast towns.

The treaty was signed just a month later than the death of Livingstone. Who shall say that the great traveller's prayers were not heard, when "the open sore of the world" thus began to be healed?

Again and again was the Treaty evaded after this; slaves were smuggled and disposed of privately; but that hideous degradation, the slave market, has never been revived.

Dec. 20, 1872.
First Day of
Intercession
in England.

Now arose an idea which we can only call inspired. We must remember that this was the year when Dr. Steere was left absolutely alone

at Zanzibar. The first Day of Intercession for Foreign Missions had been held December 20, 1872. The Church of England began immediately *to pay for her prayers.*



GRAVE OF
REV. A. N. WEST, KIUNGANI.

Her sons arose for this work, and among them the Rev. A. N. West, from Buckingham, one of her wealthier clergy. His earthly connection with the Mission lasted

scarcely two years, but his memory will be ever blessed, for the noble idea of purchasing as much as could be bought of the Old Slave Market that a Christian church might be planted in what had three months before been a citadel of Satan. Part of it, with a large house on it, he bought and gave to the Mission. But the site of all the cruelties was the free gift of Jairam Senji, a rich Hindoo merchant.

And now, as Bishop Steere said long afterwards, the evil spirit was cast out, and it remained for the Stronger than he to take possession. But, though desiring to build a material church on this very spot, he began with the "living stones" of the spiritual temple. A thatched mud hut was set in order, and here Dr. Steere began to preach, just as the twelve years had expired, which Livingstone had given the first missionaries to be ready to speak to the African in his own tongue.

They took their own children and began with a hymn. The townspeople gathered at the door. The Swahili Litany followed, and in the midst the Imam of a mosque entered, followed by about twenty more. "He said they were good words he heard, and very much what he thought himself." A picture of the Crucifixion was hung up, so that the Mohammedans could be under no delusion; but possibly they thought it a sort of Kebla for the Christians. Then so many came that a sort of mud bench or stoep was put under the eaves, where Dr. Steere could sit on Fridays—the Mohammedan holy day—and talk to all comers. This work grew and continued. Once, indeed, the Bishop thought of giving it up, and a Mohammedan, who did not himself attend the preachings, came

Dr. Steere
begins Swahili
Preaching in
Old Slave
Market.

and begged him to go on, because his audience always came and told their friends all that was said.

And on Christmas Day the foundation stone of the church was laid by the Acting Consul-General, Captain Prideaux, in the presence of the European population and a crowd of natives. Dr. Steere prayed, and they sang the Cluniac's hymn, "Jerusalem the Golden." As Blessed Bernard's words rang out on the air of that once accursed place, how strong must have seemed the contrast between *then* and *now*.

The church was to be Christ Church. Long ago, when St. Augustine brought the gospel to England, looking back with thoughts of love to the "mother and mistress of all churches," "the Basilica of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ" (since called St. John Lateran, from the dedication of its baptistery), he dedicated England's Primatial Church as "Christ Church"; and well is it that the dedication should be handed on from Canterbury to Zanzibar for its first church.¹ "The Cathedral" there was a tendency to call it, but Bishop Steere would say, "Please God we shall sometime build our cathedral on the shore of Lake Nyasa." Now that Nyasa's cathedral will stand in another diocese, Christ Church, Zanzibar, will take its place among cathedrals.

The grain of mustard seed was planted, indeed, but in so few hearts that on that Christmas Day, the consul would not let Dr. Steere preach for fear of an outbreak of

¹ The name was specially chosen because Mr. West had died on Christmas Day.

Christmas Day
Laying
Foundation
Stone of Christ
Church.

Christ Church
Zanzibar.

the Mohammedans. Four years later, on the same festival, in the same place, he was able to preach to crowds.

^{1874 to 1877.}
Bishop Steere. During those four years the great church was being built, all but the roof, which at first was but temporary. The cost was defrayed by freewill offerings for that special purpose, and not from the general fund of the Mission.

^{The Building of the Church.} Bishop Steere was master-builder and clerk of the works, his friend, Mr. C. F. Hayward, F.S.A., sending him plans and designs which were closely followed. "Do nothing without the Bishop" found its fulfilment even in the daily building of the material church. He came early and late, and directed every detail. "He himself planned the scaffolding and cording, besides seeing nearly every stone into its place; he had even to teach his masons to distinguish a straight line from a crooked one." He would watch the native workmen, learn their methods, and when he had grasped the reason, would either approve or improve.¹ The mixing of the mortar, the turning of the arches, the tracery of the windows, all claimed his care, and this in the midst of his great translations, and the oversight of the living Church.

^{Christmas Day, 1877.}
^{Opening of the Roofless Church.} So grew the Slave Market Church under the East African William of Wykeham—until that Christmas Day, 1877, when the first Church service was held in the roofless Church. About 200 persons were "packed into the shady side," and matins said in Swahili; the hymns were heartily sung, and the Bishop preached on the Birth at Bethlehem to the townspeople in their own tongue.

¹ On a visit to England in 1877, his brother-in-law took him to a brick-field, and he took off his coat and learnt practically the entire process.

The most characteristic part of the building is the roof. When it came to this, the Bishop pondered long and earnestly. If he put a wooden roof, the white ants would eat it up; if an iron one, it would be much too hot. Tiling requires a foundation of wood.

The Church
Roof.



CHRIST CHURCH, ZANZIBAR.

Now Zanzibar is a coral island, and coral is, in fact, the "stone" of the country, and of it the church had been built. It occurred to Bishop Steere that this pounded up and mixed with Portland cement would make a roof. He would throw the roof in a great solid arch across the span of the church. Wooden centerings were placed as supports, and ten feet at a time was covered with the concrete, and left to harden.

**Doubts of its
Safety.**

Every one shook their heads over the process. Such a roof had never been seen. Europeans came and looked, and wondered if the walls could bear the strain, and said they would not be under that roof when the wooden supports were taken away. Mohammedans said it was supported by magic till the opening day, and would then fall and crush the Christians. Still the roof was built—a span of $28\frac{1}{2}$ feet and a height of 60, in a tunnel-shaped arch. Then the wooden supports came away, and the roof as solid as any on earth stood firm. The natives thought medicine (charms) had been put in to keep it up. “How is it my buildings fall down, and yours stand firm,” the Sultan naïvely asked the Bishop. The roof was then sheeted over with zinc to keep out the weather. The traveller Thompson in 1884 said it was evidently not meant to last many years, yet in 1897 it is as firm as ever.

So came Christmas, 1879, when there was a grand opening of the building, completed outwardly but not within, for as yet there was not even an altar.

**Description of
Church.**

The building is Basilican in type, a mixture of Gothic and Arabic in style, and holds about 600 people. The east end is a fine apse, with beautiful, tall, narrow windows. On the chord of the apse now stands the altar—exactly where the horrible whipping-post once was; and there He Who was “wounded for our transgression,” and “by Whose stripes we are healed,” is “shewn forth” for the sins of the world. Behind it, Eastern fashion, are the bishop’s throne and sedilia. The church is paved with black and white marble, with concrete under the movable teak benches. The west window is a rose. An organ chamber was afterwards thrown out in a bay of the

south wall, and an organ was given. At the west end is a gallery for such Arab ladies as could not, according to Eastern etiquette, mingle with men on the church floor. On the opening day a huge cross of green and flowers marked the place of the post of the past and the altar of the future.

All the Europeans in Zanzibar gathered in the church on that Christmas Day, with the men and boys of the Mission on the south side, the women and girls on the north, all in festival array. The roof proved a splendid one for sound, and there was no echo. Into the ante-chapel came groups of Arabs and Swahili to see this strange sight, where so often they had bargained for slaves. The hymns, "Hark the herald" and "While shepherds watched their flocks," were in Swahili. What a type of the change Christianity has made on the face of the earth was that church with its Christmas service!

Christ Church has a slender bell-tower, ending in a small spire. The Sultan presented a clock, and great was the satisfaction of the natives at the decision that it should keep Eastern time.

"The cathedral clock here," writes a visitor, "keeps Biblical time. I had landed quite early in the morning, and yet after breakfast I found that by cathedral time it was apparently afternoon. I remarked to the Bishop that his clock had stopped, but he replied, 'No, it is ten o'clock; that is to say, the fourth hour of the day,' and so the clock pointed rightly enough to four. This is the way in which the natives compute time."

"But note the better part as well,
The Church's children all
Called daily by the holy bell
To prayer and festival,"

Never did Bishop Steere, when thinking of the outer fabric, forget the living stones of the temple. A year after the opening, the first celebration was said on Christmas Day, and the church has been in full use ever since. The following account was written soon after Bishop Steere's death by Archdeacon Jones-Bateman :—

1880.
Christmas Day.
The First Cele-
bration in
Christ Church.

Archdeacon
Jones-Bate-
man's Descrip-
tion of the
Daily Service.

“Let it be a week-day if you will, and the first sound that will greet you will be the sound of bells in our church tower, ringing out for matins at half-past six. At the door of our house are assembling the boys who form our church choir, along with the still smaller ones, forty-three in number, forming our town Boys' School, under Miss Mills' care, and a file of twelve wee little girls under Miss Bashford. And then from many of the houses built on our Mission quarter you see men, women, and children—our Christian people who have settled round us—gathering and moving churchwards. The service begins, and the singing is undoubtedly hearty, even if not always quite in tune!—all, of course, in Swahili, the language of Zanzibar, so that much of it could be understood by the merest heathen or Mohammedan, and it is wonderful how it attracts them. The grandeur of the building compared with anything they have ever seen, the sound of the organ, which in itself is a kind of miracle to some of them, the heartiness of the worship, the prayers and praises in their own language, make it the greatest testimony to Christ in a dark world. Here, at the very heart of Eastern Central Africa, from which have gone forth all the ideas of the outer world which Central Africa has, up to the Great Lakes, those who go to the north and south walk this town, and in the grandest building of it they stand and witness what they have never heard before, and they go away and bear witness to others that they have seen another religion professed, and heard its worship, different entirely to the forms of Islam; . . . and this result is obtained . . . by having

resident Swahili speaking clergy, a vigorous Choir School from which to draw choristers, and a Christian quarter round the church, lived on by a body of native Christians, to be a help to each other."

This beautiful picture gives us the reason why nothing less than Christ Church would satisfy Bishop Steere. With his wonderful far-sightedness he knew that Christianity must be a "city set upon a hill." We realize the use of daily services. In a heathen land they fulfil St. Paul's words, "If there come in one that believeth not . . . he is convinced of all, he is judged of all; . . . and so falling down on his face he will worship God, and report that God is in you of a truth."

A little account of the growth of the "Chris-
tian quarter" will well finish our view of church The Christian
Quarter.
building. From the first it was intended to move the centre of the Town Mission from the old Consulate to the Slave Market Square. "A Hospital, Schools, and a Zenana Mission," were among the dreams of the Bishop when it came into his hand. When the church was finished, he bought land to the south and east of the church, giving the ruinous price of £320 for it. The adult converts, and youths leaving school, were in danger of lapsing into heathendom or Mohammedanism, unless gathered round a centre; for when Mohammedans cannot put down Christianity they do all they can to degrade Christians by tempting them to sin. So groups of little houses were built under the wing of the Mission, and thus arose a parish of converts, practising various trades in the town.

The rapid growth in Zanzibar alarmed the coast people.

"We will not sell land to you if we can help it," said they.

"You will want to do what you have done in Zanzibar. First, you build a house, and then you will want more land, and build a church ; then you will bring more people about you, and you will make us all Christians before we know where we are. So we had better stop you at the beginning."

The growth of the grain of mustard seed was attracting notice.

1882.
June 23.
Gift of Bells.

In his last visit to England the Bishop received one more gift for his church. The anniversary of the Mission was held on June 23, the Bishop of London in the chair. Bishop Steere made a remarkable speech, in which he said that if their church of stone had been a great work, much greater in his eyes was the little mud hut in which some of the native teachers were accustomed to meet among themselves, and ask God's blessing on their work, and on the brethren for whom they worked.

At the close of the meeting a peal of twenty-five small bells, to be arranged as a carillon in the church turret, was presented to the Bishop. Those who have lived for years out of the hearing of Christian bells will appreciate the pleasure of hearing them in a land where they may indeed

" Ring out the old,
Ring in the new ;
Ring out the false
Ring in the true."

CHAPTER VII.

DAILY WORK IN THE ISLAND AND ON THE MAINLAND.

*" Sow with a generous hand ;
Pause not for toil or pain ;
Weary not through the heat of summer,
Weary not through the cold spring rain ;
But wait till the autumn comes
For the sheaves of golden grain ;*

—ADELAIDE PROCTER.

BISHOP STEERE left England on February 11, 1875, and the effect of his appeal to the self-surrender of his countrymen was seen in the twenty-one new workers added to the Mission staff this year. Among them were the Rev. E. S. L. Randolph, the **Twenty-one fresh Workers.** Rev. J. P. Farler ; a young layman, H. W. Woodward, now in priest's Orders, and still in the service of the Mission ; and Miss Josephine Bartlett, who for twenty years was to prove one of the most helpful and dearly-loved workers the Mission ever had. Later in the year came Miss Allen, who began the hospital work.

This was quite the golden year of the Mission, for a hold was now obtained on the mainland which has never been relaxed. The Usambara work had been stopped by illness or death again and again. Now a priest had laid good foundations, and died or been recalled. Then four Christian lads had held the outpost quite alone. But at last the land was to be possessed, and the Rev. J. P. Farler was chosen for the post.

Magila permanently occupied, July, 1875. "I left England," he said in a letter to Canon Liddon three years later, "in February, 1875, in obedience to what I believed and still believe to be a decisive token of God's will that I should enter on missionary work. I remained a few months in Zanzibar, and in the following June Bishop Steere took me to Magila, together with a young layman, John Henry Moss, who, after two years of singular devotion and earnestness, fell asleep in Christ."

With them also went Acland Sahera, a native reader. Francis Mabruki, who had been there before, awaited them, having got Mr. Midgeley's house in order.

Surveying the Land. The day after their arrival at Magila, the Bishop and Mr. Farler climbed "to the top of the nearest mountain and surveyed the country and talked over our plans. We saw villages too many to be counted; and in all nooks of the mountain side, little groups of huts and plots of cultivated land."

As they looked, surely the thought of the Father of the Faithful, surveying the Land of Promise, must have crossed their minds. "Arise and walk through the land in the length of it and in the breadth of it" was the command now given to the faithful missionary.

What the Bishop must have thought as he gazed far, far over the hills, and counted the villages, we know from his speech at Oxford before leaving England.

Bishop Steere's Description of the African Nations. "Beyond and beyond lie nation after nation, till the mind is overwhelmed by the vastness of the work before us. . . . My plan is to cut up the work into manageable portions. I think we may take it for certain that we have not to do with broken fragments of tribes. . . . There seem to be nations of several millions each, speaking the same language, and occupying countries

which are to be measured by hundreds of miles in either direction. Our East Africans are not nomads dwelling in a wilderness or a desert, but settled cultivators, who would gladly remain for many generations in one place. *Each of these nations ought at least to have its own church and its own bishop and clergy.* . . . As Africa is now, we shall have to fix the site of future cities, as the monks did in England, and the English missionaries in Germany. . . . We have such a centre at Magila for the Shambala. We are forming a party to go to the Yaos. Between the Yaos and the coast we have one great nation—the Gindos. . . . We must try to plant a station amongst them; and then the Zaramos and the Ziguas near the coast, the Nyasas and Bisas on the other side of the Lake Nyasa, and the various tribes up to and beyond the Nyamwezi, all and each are ready to receive us.”

These words speak of the immense work to be attacked eastward of Lake Tanganyika.

When the Bishop had gone, leaving Mr. Farler with Mr. Moss and Acland, it is no wonder that “a sense of desolation” was the first feeling of that little trio of Christians, alone among these nations of heathen. But with a brave heart did they “arise and walk through the land,” and everywhere people listened to them.

A Mohammedan chief who heard the first sermon was struck, as Mohammedans often are, with the doctrine of the Atonement. Mohammed never professed to save from sin. He did not die for his people. A Mohammedan purges himself from ordinary sins; a lapse from Islam is unpardonable. The forgiveness of sins comes as a revelation to them; and this chief, after hearing Swahili evensong, said he had never imagined such a beautiful service, and invited Mr. Farler to preach in his town.

Preaching
at Magila.

Then the king of the country sent for them to come and see him at Msasa. The road led them through lovely scenery ; mountains the height of Snowdon towered over valleys with golden harvests ripening beside cool clear rivers. Magnificent trees, ferns, and flowers flourished, and the air was sweet with orange blossom. But this lovely land had for ten years been laid waste by war. Kibanga, king of Usambara, and his brother, the chief of the Wakilindi, had been fighting since before the death of old Kimweri. The brothers did not know how to end the feud, and asked the missionaries to make peace.

Amid shouts of joy from the people, Mr. Farler arranged the terms, telling them how wrong it was for brother to fight with brother. When the chiefs had shaken hands and feasted, he stood up, like Paulinus before King Edwin, and preached of the life to come to those whose whole idea of the spiritual life here and hereafter is limited to darkness inhabited by Kizuli (spirits) and to witchcraft. How they must have echoed the thought of the Northumbrians !—

“ Wherefore, if aught these strangers preach
Can chase the doubt and fear
That hangeth o’er the future life,
In God’s Name, let us hear ! ”

And from this time the king prayed for a missionary to settle in his land.

Meantime, St. Bartholomew’s Day was kept in Zanzibar with much rejoicing, for eighteen of the elder native pupils had just been confirmed, and now more than double that number were baptized. John Swedi, the sub-deacon, presided at the festival dinner, at

which Chuma and Susi, Livingstone's faithful attendants, were present as guests, the latter still unbaptized.

The cemetery at Kiungani was already the sleeping-place of many who had been so blessed as to give up their lives in the service of their Master, and on the evening of this day the Bishop spoke the words of consecration there; "and the white-robed procession gathered round the spot chanting,

Consecration
of Cemetery
at
Kiungani.



KIUNGANI SCHOOL.

as the sun sank to rest, the familiar strains of the resurrection hymn, "Jesus lives."

A large cross had recently been erected on the roof at Kiungani, as an outward sign that Christ was the Master of that house.

Immediately after this, the Bishop and a large party, including Chuma and Susi, started for the Rovuma country—an account of their journey will be given later on.

It is well to remember that though the exciting scenes of earlier Mission work, the novelty of pioneer expeditions,

and the heroism of martyr deaths are more interesting, yet, if we would study mission work, we must also realize

“The trivial round, the common task,”

the watering as well as the planting of the vineyard, the slow building as well as the founding and finishing of the King's palace.

The work in Zanzibar during the years 1875 to 1877 was already beginning the organization which lasted so many years.

**Mkunazini
and its Work.**

The central Mission House, Mkunazini (meaning “the place of the wild plum-tree”) was close to Christ Church, and was first occupied at the end of 1875, and remained for nearly twenty years the centre of the town mission work.¹ The little Boys' Home was removed here from Mbweni, and hard by hospital work began, under Miss Allen and her staff of two nurses. Schools were held for the townspeople, especially for sons of the Hindoo merchants, and a little later Miss Allen began Zenana work in the town.

**Work at
Kiungani.**

At Kiungani, about 1½ miles from the town, the Boys' School and training institution was in full work. Mr. Randolph was reorganizing this, helped by Miss Bartlett, who superintended the laundry department, Mr. Woodward, who worked in the printing room, and Mr. Wallis, in charge of the carpenter's shop. Here there were eighty-eight natives, chiefly boys.

**Early work
at Mbweni.**

A native village of freed slaves, planned by Bishop Tozer, had been planted at Mbweni (formerly known as the “Point Shamba”) by Dr. Steere

¹ Mkunazini took the place of the Mission House at the old Consulate, now given up.

early in 1874. It had begun with seven adult men and fifteen women, living in homes of their own, and in two years' time, the results of further captures of slaves having been added, the population was 140, under the Rev. W. F. Capel, with John Swedi, Mr. Mitchell, and Mr. Williams to help him.

The Girls' School, numbering sixty-two, was here under Miss Fountaine ; while the infants were taught by Vincent

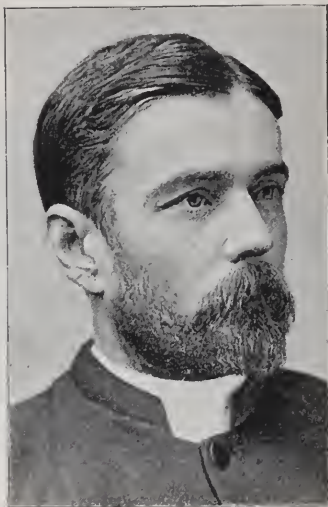


THE REV. E. S. L. RANDOLPH, WITH THE FIRST WHEELS USED IN ZANZIBAR.

Mkono, one of the earliest Mission pupils, who had married another Mission pupil, Elizabeth Kidogo. These names and numbers mostly refer to 1876.

Here, at Mbweni, under Mr. Randolph's Industries at Mbweni. vigorous superintendence, oxen were being trained for purposes of draught, and Mr. Wallis was building a wagon in the carpenter's shop at Kiungani, with a view to travelling on the mainland ; but meantime they were to be used for carting stone and lime in the

island as a trial. At Mbweni the adults were cultivating their own food by their own methods. The Mission had to give them their clothes, and what may be called pocket-money, at a cost of about £2 5s. per annum each. To meet this cost sugar cultivation was tried, but not on a large scale ; the syrup, however, was sold for something.



REV. CHAUNCY MAPLES
(afterwards Bishop of Likoma).

There has always been a desire not to give the natives civilized tastes and wants, and a story is told of a boy who had been for a time in England, and had learnt to drink sugar in his cocoa, asking the missionary at the evening halt, after a day's march "Where is the sugar?"

Another Mbweni industry is the burning the beautiful white coral stone into lime.

Very little as yet was done for industrial training in the Girls' School ; but the elder ones took turns at simple household work, as school hours permitted. At first Mbweni consisted of only thirty acres ; but it has now increased to 150.

Several fresh workers had come out in 1876, and among them the Rev. W. F. Capel, long the secretary, who, after working for a year and a half, went with Bishop Tozer to

Jamaica. But the most interesting arrival this year was that of a young Oxonian, in deacon's Orders, the Rev. Chauncy Maples, who, while a curate in Oxford, had stirred up much interest in the Mission, which was happy enough to retain him well-nigh twenty years, during the latter half of which he was Archdeacon of Nyasa.

May 3, 1876.
Arrival of the
Rev. Chauncy
Maples.

On the Feast of St. Michael and All Angels, the Bishop ordained him priest, and another recruit, the Rev. W. P. Johnson, deacon. The latter, who was well-known as stroke of the University College "Eight," is one of the few on the present staff who dates back to 1876.

Sept. 29, 1876.
Ordination of
the Revs. C.
Maples and
W. P. Johnson.



REV. W. P. JOHNSON.

With Mr. Maples came a layman, Joseph Williams, who long worked with him at Likoma, and in death was not parted from him.

Joseph
Williams.

Another, destined "in a short time to fulfil a long time," was Mr. (afterwards the Rev.) Charles Yorke, of Warminster.

Charles Yorke.

Two pictures of the daily life of the Bishop and island workers at this time are given by Archdeacons Hodgson and Maples. The latter writes thus:—

"At this time [the Bishop] was living in the Boys' School, at Kiungani, going in on Sundays and Thursdays to Mkunazini to celebrate there, and to conduct

Archdeacon
Maples'
Account of
Daily Life.

the Sunday evening service in English for the European residents in the town.

"Every day he used, soon after breakfast, to repair to the printing office, where he remained till nearly noon, revising and correcting proof-sheets of his various Swahili translations, setting up the type himself not infrequently. . . . After the midday meal he would bring a whole pile of newly printed matter into the general sitting-room, and, handing round a few needles and some thread, would soon begin stitching together the tracts and books with a rapidity we vainly tried to equal. Then, as he plied his needle, he would encourage us to ask questions on matters linguistic and missionary, for which he was always ready with a wise and satisfying answer. In the afternoon he would again take his place in the printing office. . . . In the evening he nearly always walked in to town to inspect the church building."

Translation of
Ephesians,
Philippians,
St. James'
and St. John's
Epistles.

During this year he was busy translating the Epistles into Swahili, and those to the Ephesians and Philippians, with the Epistles of St. James and St. John were accomplished.

Archdeacon Hodgson's picture shows the Bishop at Mbweni, and illustrates the daily routine in the next year :—

Nov., 1877.
Archdeacon
Hodgson's
Account of
Bishop Steere
at Mbweni.

"He walked out to us early, for a seven o'clock celebration, from the headquarters of the Mission, the Old Slave Market in Zanzibar. . . . A walk of five miles and then a service before breakfast is no slight exertion with the thermometer over 80°. . . .

It was each month his practice to spend one Sunday morning with us, and the first morning I ever had to wait for his appearance was the very day on which he died. . . . The celebration was in English, and then we returned to the Mission House for breakfast. The members of the Mission and the children of the orphanage had their meals in one room. . . . On this auspicious occasion the children had, of course, all

turned out in Sunday best, and were waiting round the hall door for the Europeans and the Bishop to go in first. We were just going across the courtyard, when the Bishop's eye fell on a tub used for catching rain water. This same tub had been carelessly handled, and two of the iron hoops had been allowed to get loose and come off. There and then, regardless of hunger and fatigue, the Bishop must needs point out the impending dissolution of an article not easily replaced in Zanzibar, and insist on restoring with his own hands the rusty hoops to their original position. It was certainly a very practical sermon against carelessness."

Amid much that was thankworthy, some sad records must be given. Faithfully do the Mission journals recount what seems like failure, as well as what seems like success. In 1875-76 we read such notices as :—

1875-76.
Apparent
Failures.

"Four Khami slaves ran away from Mbweni."

These had only just been received.

Again,—

"Sent in to accuse C—— of having stolen kisibau before consul."

This was a great grief, for C—— was one of Bishop Tozer's first boys—a Zigua, and he had married a Christian.

Then the next year we have—

"Maitland Mabruki expelled for continued bad conduct."

This youth had been baptized five years before by Bishop Tozer.

In the following year we find—

"A—— moved to Magila, to give him a chance of redeeming his character after flagrant misconduct."

Fall of Francis Mabruki. But the saddest story of all is Francis Mabruki's, a sub-deacon, who had done much good work, especially at Magila. Francis had to be inhibited July 31, 1876. Inhibited. from preaching, and, alas! he has never been restored. His wife, Kate, whom he had ill-treated, has lived a Christian life bravely and uncomplainingly. At first she kept school; but after some years wished to have a little home of her own, and she now lives under the wing of the Mission, taking in work, or working at the Mission House, supporting herself, and remaining very much respected by all.

Progress at Magila. Turning again to the mainland, we find Mr. Farler's labours blessed exceedingly. The Bishop wrote, after a short visit paid to him in 1876, that his medical cures were causing people to abandon their charms, and that in a little while he would have the whole Bondé district at his feet.

April 2, 1877. Baptisms at Magila. This was but partially accomplished. On Easter Monday there was a procession from Magila to the river—cross-bearer, catechumens, choir, banner, and clergy, all singing hymns. Fourteen catechumens received baptism in the river, including two native chiefs. Each, as he entered the river, faced west and renounced the devil, and then faced east and confessed the Triune God, many of the spectators being deeply impressed.

Invasion of Zigwas. In this year Magila was invaded by the Wazigua, who conquered the Bondei. A day or two of much anxiety to the Mission passed, and then the Zigwas were driven off, and the triumphant Kibanga paid a visit to Mr. Farler, and, in exuberance of spirits, began a war-dance on Sunday, during the time of Celebra-

tion. Mr. Farler went out and told them that it was God's day, and invited them to hear His Word, promising them leave to dance as much as they liked next day :—

“They cried ‘Vyedi’—very good—and followed me into church. It was a striking scene. These fierce, wild men thronged the church, and piled their weapons, that had been so recently dyed with blood, against the sides of the church, while they attentively listened to the gospel of peace on earth, goodwill to men.”

After this a very strange thing happened. A council of Bondei chiefs met and sent a message to Mr. Farler begging him to be their king ; kindly saying he need only give counsel in war, but need not go to war if he thought it wrong. None of the Christians had been killed in the late war, though they fought more bravely than any. Three times was the offer repeated : Would he be king to counsel them in law cases? Would he be king, and *all of them would be Christians*? Was this last offer a moment's temptation? If so, a recollection of “all these things will I give thee” must have been in his mind as he replied that to follow Christ outwardly was of no avail without belief from the heart. And for the Mission no doubt it was better to gather in “one of a city, two of a family.” And at the Harvest Thanksgiving this year, when Mr. Farler persuaded his flock to give thanks to the true Lord of the harvest, and not to evil spirits, seven of the spectators came forward to put themselves under instruction. The harvest truly was ready!

The Kingdom
offered to
Mr. Farler.

Harvest
Thanksgiving.

And how the bread “cast upon the waters” is found “after many days” was seen in the case of Dallington

Maftaa, a Nyasa boy, a released slave, who had not been looked on as a great credit to the Mission.

This boy went with Stanley on his tramp through Africa, and was left by him in Uganda.

He now wrote to the Bishop :—

“MY DEAR BISHOP,— “WANTAGALA, April 23, 1876.

“Let thy heart be turned to thy servant, and let me have favour in thy sight; therefore send me Swahili prayers, and send me one big black Bible. I want slates, board, chalk, that I may teach the Waganda the way of God. I been teach them already, but I want you to send me Litala Suudi, that he may help me in the work of God. Oh! my Lord, pray for me; oh! ye boys, pray for me. And if thou refuse to send Litala Suudi, send John Swedi. Your honour to the Queen, and my honour to you.

“J. SCOPION, *alias* DALLINGTON MAFTAA.

“I am translating the Bible to Mtesa, son of Suna, King of Uganda. I was with Henry M. Stanley, together with Robert Feruzi, but Robert is gone with Stanley, but I being stop (*i.e.*, am staying) in Uganda, translating the Bible.”

Another Uganda lad, Henry Wright Duta, who subsequently passed through Kiungani School, was afterwards ordained for the Native Church in that country.

In 1877 Bishop Steere paid a visit to England for health's sake. One of the great hindrances to tropical African work is that every few years a missionary must come home for health's sake; making a break, often disastrous in the working of a station. And yet there are compensations. The work does not depend on one man when his place has so often to be taken; much knowledge of the Mission is diffused in England, and fresh workers are influenced.

Bishop Steere's
Visit to
England.

During this visit, the University of Oxford honoured itself by conferring the honorary degree of D.D. on the Bishop, "amid the tumultuous plaudits of graduates and undergraduates."

Degree of D.D.
conferred by
Oxford.

Among the fresh workers found were the Rev. F. R. Hodgson and Mrs. Hodgson, who have worked ever since in the interests of the Mission either in Africa or England; and Miss Thackeray, still at work in the island, where she will ever be remembered for the new life she put into the teaching of the girls, as well as into the Industrial Home.

Rev. F. and
Mrs. Hodgson.

Miss
Thackeray.

At this time the funds were known to be low. Shortly before the Bishop "felt ashamed to say they had not proper houses to live in or food to eat." Now, quite spontaneously, £120 was sent to Mr. Randolph, who was in charge, from all ranks and nationalities in Zanzibar, as a present, lest the missionaries should go without the comforts necessary for their health in that climate—a pretty strong testimony to the love and respect with which they were regarded.

Present of £120
sent from
Inhabitants to
the Mission.

The failing funds were due to the large number of freed slaves the Mission had been taking. Fifty more had been received in the Bishop's absence, and drafted off to Kiungani and Mbweni. First the procession, passing through the city, would leave the smaller orphan boys in the town, the little boys running out of their house and claiming their contingent. The next halt would be at Kiungani; and here one day a touching scene was enacted. The wretched, spiritless men were resting before going on to Mbweni, where homes would be allotted them, when a boy, Kalonda, came out of the laundry, looked about, and with a shout rushed up

The March
of the
Freed Slaves.

to one of the men, crying, "Oh, father!" The greeting on both sides may be imagined. It was an old story—the hunter returning from the forest to find his home desolate, his few goods plundered, and his son carried off by the Maviti. The poor man, looking for a safe place to settle in, was seized a few months later, and owing to this second



MISSION HOUSE AT UMBU.

misfortune found his son. Father and son were not again parted, and he remained at Kiungani.

Offshoots of Magila. The first offshoot of Magila was Pambili, about three miles off, founded 1876. The second was Umba. Mr. Farler and his assistants were accustomed to walk to neighbouring villages, preach and talk to the people in apostolic style; and their journals read like pieces out of the Acts of the Apostles. Thus they became

aware, to use their own expression, that they were "working against time"; *i.e.*, it was a race for the conversion of Africa between us and Mohammedanism. The African Arabs are propagandist, and are rapidly bringing the natives under obedience to Islam.

At Umba was a large mosque, where Mohammedans played the part of the Jews towards early Christians, insulting the converts as they passed to the coast. A three days' mission was decided on. Umba was then the great market between the corn-growing district and the coast. It was full moon when the missionaries arrived and declared to the chief that they meant to preach every evening. He gave permission, saying there would be few hearers, as, according to custom, they were all dancing at full moon.

1877.
Preaching
at Umba.

Quite undaunted, they lit a fire, sang a hymn, and preached to the few who would listen, on Judgment and the Life to come. A few more came and listened, and asked questions up to eleven o'clock. The rest went on dancing.

Next night a much larger congregation came to hear of the Fall and Redemption. The bold statement that "Christ is God," caused an uproar among the Mohammedans, but the preacher went on steadily, and afterwards many questions were asked about our Lord.

"On the last evening no dancers were left; all came to the preaching. The interest was intense, many having come from other towns; for we had announced the subject, 'A Contrast between the Life of Mohammed and the Life of Jesus Christ.' While the evil and impure life of Mohammed was being contrasted with the holy and blessed life of Jesus, not a sound was heard. When we had finished, a man stepped forward and said,

'We became Mohammedans because we had no religion, and the coast people came and taught us theirs; but we don't like them, for they cheat us, and if Christianity is better than Islam, we will follow it.' "

It was a remarkable scene. Under the intensely bright light of an African moon stood the missionary and his young catechist, Acland Sahera, surrounded by those dark, earnest faces, asking question after question till past midnight.

And the three days' mission bore such fruit that in three years' time the deserted mosque was in ruins; while first Mr. Phillips, and then Mr. Yorke, had built up such a Christian Church that the week-day service was attended by nearly fifty natives.

Nov. 28th.
Return of
Stanley.

At this time the well-known traveller Stanley arrived at Zanzibar from the Cape. He had started from Zanzibar with a Swahili guard of 300 men, women, and children, had worked his way westward, tracing the whole course of the Lualaba or Congo. Hardship and war had reduced his escort to 150. On reaching the Cape there were not wanting those who would have had him proceed at once to Europe, where he was eagerly expected. But he had given his word to his Arabs to take them back to Zanzibar, and, however inconvenient, that word was kept. Robert Feruzi was one of his most trusted men throughout.

1878.
Work
among the
Women.

The next year Miss Allen began a Mothers' Meeting for the first time in Zanzibar, while Miss Hinton looked after the babies. This was beginning at the right end, since "the nation comes from the nursery," and henceforth we must expect to trace a firmer foothold for native Christianity.

Miss Allen also visited the Arab ladies in their own homes, and gives a striking account of a scene like the reading of the English Bible in Wickliffe's days.

She had taken an Arabic Bible with her, and the master of the house took it and read the first chapter of Genesis to the ladies of the family, stopping at "God made man in His own image," to ask what it meant. "God has no body like ours." When explained as speaking of man's moral nature, he seemed pleased; and he went on to the second chapter. He highly approved of Eve's having come from Adam's side, and explained that, according to Arab legend, Adam had an extra lump of fat to spare for Eve. Then his eyes failed him (for he suffered from ophthalmia), and his sister went on reading, till they stopped to ask "which was the greater, Christ or Mohammed?"

Visit to an
Arab House.

Mr. Johnson at this time was for a few months at Mbweni, having been ordained priest September 21 this year. "His preachings and catechizings have been endless, and he has established night schools and mission services in several adjoining villages. The natives call him 'the man that never sits down.'"

In every Mission there are years of beginnings, of progress, and of completion. Such a year of completion was 1879, when the church was finished externally, and the Swahili New Testament and Prayer-Book completed, so that on May 1 the whole Liturgy was used for the first time in Swahili. The occasion was the first Communion of a party of natives from Masasi who had come up for Confirmation.

1879.
May 1.
Swahili
Liturgy Com-
pleted and
Used.

Another crowning of work was the ordination of John Swedi as a deacon on Trinity Sunday—the first of the

June 8. native races to receive Holy Orders. He was
Ordination of John Swedi, the first Native Deacon in the Mission. so greatly beloved in the Island that when he started for Masasi hardly any one came to see him off; they could not bear to bid him good-bye in public.

Other important events this year were the ordination of A. C. Goldfinch (for Masasi) and Charles Yorke (for Usambara) as deacons; the appointment of the
Rev. J. P. Farler, Arch-deacon of Magila. Rev. J. P. Farler as Archdeacon of Magila, on his return from England; the arrival of Miss Bashford in April, and the coming out of Miss Doré Yarnton Mills, who has worked happily for the Mission ever since. Six weeks later, on St. Paul's Day, she took up the work which for sixteen years has been connected with her name—the care of the little boys, first at Mkunazini, and afterwards at Kilimani. Thus she took the place of Miss Hinton, who on that day married the Rev. F. J. Williams.

The newly-married pair went to Kaule, a village near Magila; she was the first lady of the Universities' Mission to work on the mainland. Their arrival had been made necessary by the death of the Rev. Charles Yorke on the evening of the Epiphany.

His work at Umba and elsewhere had been
The Rev. Charles Yorke at Umba. much blessed. There is a letter giving an account of his wrestling by prayer and argument for the soul of an old dying woman, turning out the charmers in the face of a council gathered against him, and finally having her baptized and buried as a Christian, allowing no wailing till the first Christian funeral at Umba was over. He was much loved, and being laid up on Christmas Day at Magila, had striven to reach

his people again two days later, bringing on a return of fever, of which he died, and was laid to rest near the newly enlarged church of St. John Baptist, Umba, beside Maria Mapindu, his convert.

Jan. 6.
His Death.

He was the first of the Mission clergy to be buried on the mainland since that little group of graves by the Shiré. At the Mission Anniversary that year, Bishop Harvey Goodwin (Carlisle), the biographer of Mackenzie, drew attention to the contrast of the desertion and loneliness of the first Bishop's death, and the Hagar-like putting his grave out of sight, with the love and attention surrounding Charles Yorke, dying amid his converts, carried to the grave by catechumens, and mourned by all Umba. In those eighteen years the doctrine of "Jesus and the Resurrection" had indeed been a light to lighten African darkness.

A Contrast.

The glimpses given above of daily life at Kiungani and Mbweni are completed by one of daily life at Mkunazini in 1880. After 6.30 Mattins, attended by all the Mission, came 7 o'clock breakfast at a common table, with Miss Mills' little boys at two tables in the same refectory. Afterwards Miss Allen would attend a crowd of out-patients from the city, gathered at the door, the Bishop directing the work-people, or interviewing and writing notes to the various members of the Mission, who asked his advice on every topic, from the planting of a station to the management of a refractory girl.

Daily Life at
Mkunazini.

Miss Bashford had the charge of the little waifs received from the slave dhows, and in the intervals of her care of them she may be found setting up Arabic type in the printing office, and Miss Mills, assisted by her native



MISS BASHFORD (MRS. HALLIDAY) AND THE NURSERY CHILDREN
(Under the Organ chamber of Christ Church).

boy, is in her school. A short noonday service in chapel, and then dinner for the whole family. In the afternoon came school again, and visitors—Arabs for discussion, English sailors or guests from the mainland. The translations go forward, parcels from home are opened and repacked for the various stations, until the Bishop comes in to tea, followed by a sunset evensong.

There are prayers again at nine, after supper, and then in the common sitting-room reading, talking, or writing for the mail till bed-time.

This sounds interesting for once, but results are produced by the daily repetition of years. There is a blessed drudgery in mission work as in home work—a constant learning by doing the same things, a constant progress by doing them better. A missionary's motto should be, "This one thing I do—forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth unto those things that are before, I press towards the mark."

A Temperance Society was first formed in Zanzibar in 1879. There is a great deal of drunkenness there and on the coast, for even the Mohammedans are not so strict as in many places, and secret drinking goes on among them. The natives brew pombi, a sort of beer, and have regular markets for it, and much drunkenness is caused by it. It did not need the European and his rum to teach this vice to the African, though rum finishes a drunkard off more quickly than pombi.

Another improvement was a traction engine. Whatever doubts may exist as to the use of civilization as an aid to Christianizing the world, road-making has certainly helped to spread the gospel message

1879.
Temperance
Society.

Native
Drunkenness.

The Traction
Engine.

from the days of the Romans downwards, and to this purpose the engine was applied, working at one time for Seyid Barghash for making the Mbweni road, at £100 a mile.

State of the
Inner Life
of the East
Coast African.

Allusion has been made several times to the "charms" believed in by Africans. Indeed fear, in the sense of terror, is the only religious



THE TRACTION ENGINE IN ZANZIBAR
(*Mr. Bellingham on the right*).

emotion of the African. Love and reverence he knows nothing of. Bishop Steere once said that as his outward life is full of fear and uncertainty—war, famine, slave raids—so is his inward life.

"The East Coast Africans are not idolaters; they all believe in God, but they think of Him as too great and too far off to care

individually for them. Their whole thoughts are full of evil spirits and malicious witchcraft. A man gropes his way through his life, peopling the darkness round him with fearful shapes, and on the continual look-out for some omen or for some man who, as he supposes, knows more than he does of the invisible world to give him some faltering guidance. His life is dark, his death is darker still. His friends dare not even let it be known where his body is laid, lest some evil use should be made of it. No man in the whole world has more need of inward strengthening and comfort, and no man in the whole world has less of it."

Nyungu, a great medicine man, became a catechumen at this time. He had become chief <sup>Nyungu, the
Medicine
Man.</sup> through his charms, for which great presents were brought to him. Twice he was about to become a catechumen, but lapsed at the last minute. He could not bring himself to give up his charms. He told Mr. Farler that he would be laughed at. A third lapse made his conversion seem hopeless, but at length he was admitted and made his answers with great energy, exclaiming when asked, "Will you renounce the devil, forsaking witchcraft and charms?" "They are no good; they are no good. I renounce them; I cast them all away." His conversion made a great impression on the natives, whom he did not cease to warn of the foolishness of Uganga. He was baptized by the name of Solomon.

And thus, through evil report and good report, amid disappointments and successes, by means of consecrated lives of daily self-denial, as well as by holy lives laid down, the Church of God went forth in Eastern Africa conquering and to conquer.

CHAPTER VIII.

ON THE EDGE OF THE WILDERNESS.

*"Although to-day He prunes my twigs with pain,
Yet doth His Blood nourish and warm my root;
To-morrow I shall put forth buds again,
And clothe myself with fruit.*

*Although to-day I walk in tedious ways,
To-day His staff is turned into a rod;
Yet will I wait for Him the appointed days,
And stay upon my God."*

—CHRISTINA ROSSETTI.

THERE is a land which lies between Lake Nyasa and the Indian Ocean. It is, roughly speaking, bounded by the seventh degree of southern latitude on the north, and by the Zambesi basin on the south. This land was in 1874 quite unknown to Englishmen—almost to Europeans. The Portuguese had indeed dwelt in the coast towns for 400 years without caring for their African neighbours, without exploring their country or knowing much about them; while, if it is too much to say that they actively promoted the slave trade, they did little to hinder it.

This country is described by the Rev. Chauncy Maples about ten years after Bishop Steere's first visit, and the following account is taken from his words:

The largest river in this tract of 140,000 square miles is the Rovuma, up which Livingstone tried to take Bishop Mackenzie. Rising near the Great Lake, it falls into the sea north of Cape

The Rovuma
District and
Nyasaland.

Later Descrip-
tion by the
Rev. C. Maples.

Delgado. Its great southern tributary, the Lujenda, has a still longer course north-west from Lake Shirwa.

Throughout most of this district, but especially south of the Rovuma, are found the Makua The Makuas. nation, "a peace-loving, industrious, harmless people, of very average intelligence, as these races go, and very amenable to civilizing influences when judiciously exercised." One centre of this race is to be found at Meto, where the forest is quite cleared, and cultivation has reached some excellence. The Yao race, so well known by the flying party (Ajawa) who came to the Shiré, has its home in the fork between the Rovuma and the Lujenda and give our missionaries a ready welcome. The Nyasas dwell here and there on the shores of the lake. The Yaos.
The Nyasas.

Two more tribes of some importance are found on either side of the mouth of the Rovuma—on a high plateau, extending about 100 miles inland, divided by the river basin. These are the Makonde, on the north, industrious cultivators, trading chiefly in india-rubber, and the Mavia on the south. Nearer the Zambesi are the fierce Walomwe, while scattered along the Rovuma are remnants of the Mwera, Donde, Gindo, and other tribes. The Makonde
and Mavia
and other
Tribes.

The race which is the terror of the land is of foreign extraction. "'Tis sixty years since" a Zulu army, so says tradition, sent forth against their enemies, suffered defeat. This is penal among the Zulus, and had they returned the punishment would have been decimation. A happy thought occurred to them *not* to return, and they pushed northwards till they came to Nyasa, settled on both sides of the lake, and became a great tribe, under various names,

The Magwangwara and Maviti.

of which Magwangwara and Maviti are the best known. Their raids are a sore trouble to the more peaceful tribes. They preserve the Zulu fighting tradition, and "dip their spears in blood" almost annually. They have dreams of a universal empire in Central Africa, not unbecoming a Napoleon or an Emperor of Russia, and they hold the other tribes in vassalage.

The Bishop's first Journey in the Rovuma District, 1875.

Into this district Bishop Steere in 1875 made a pioneer expedition, landing at Lindi, marching through forest to the Rovuma, and, crossing it, passed through the Yao district to Mataka's village, Mwembe, about seventy miles from Lake Nyasa.

Idea of a Christian Village on the Mainland.

It was this journey which made him hopeful of leading some of the freed slaves in the island back to their former homes, and planting in the wilderness a Christian village. Therefore, from among the families at Mbweni a certain number were carefully selected, chiefly married couples, regard being shown to the willingness of both husband and wife. Thus thirty-one men and twenty-four women were ready to start for a return to their

Oct. 16.
Start from Mbweni.

native land by October, 1876. Not many of them were baptized, but all were under instruction, and John Almasi and Sarah Lozi, native leaders, and four Kiungani lads were Christians. The Rev. W. P. Johnson, just admitted to deacon's Orders, was the spiritual head, and Mr. Beardall lay superintendent.

Landing at Lindi, Oct. 18.

The Bishop himself led the people to their settlement, taking with him a link with the earliest days of the Mission—the portable altar brought out by Bishop Mackenzie and left at the Cape. Bishop Tozer carried it on to Zanzibar, and now, when at length

the Mission had set its face towards Nyasa, the little altar went too. Captain Crohan, of the *Flying Fish*, kindly towed the hired dhow, containing the natives, as far as Lindi, which they reached on St. Luke's Day.

In another week they had hired porters, and the caravan of two hundred people was ready to start. Each settler was provided with an axe and a hoe; there was food to carry, and bales of cloth to act as money. Chuma was the caravan leader. Following the course of the Ukeredi, they marched through a district stricken with famine, and passed through the dense Mwera Forest, asking for food at every halting-place, but finding none; but everywhere they heard the cheering news, "There is plenty at Masasi."

The March.

At length they reached this favoured spot. Bishop Steere writes :

Arrival at
Masasi,
Nov. 9.

"We had been gradually rising all this time, and were now rather more than 1,000 feet above the sea, when we emerged upon broad, open, cultivated slopes, backed by mountainous masses of granite rock. Very soon we passed two streams of purer water than we had seen for a long time, and made our way to a village lying between two of the rocky summits with ample space about it. Here we found ourselves among the Yaos."

Immediately they were in a land of plenty. More than eleven dozen fowls were brought to them, and while these were being cooked, the natives observed that this mountain had "graces in abundance." Next morning a man came with a humble offering of a fowl. He had been set free, and kindly treated by the English, he said, and was delighted to welcome them. Chuma knew him as one of his fellow-slaves, freed by Livingstone and Mackenzie.

And now the African nature asserted itself. Side by

side with great patience, there often exists a want of steadfast purpose, making sustained exertion a difficulty. The Mbweni people looked upon the land, and saw that it was pleasant; they heard spoken around them the Yao tongue, familiar to many of them, and they thought of the long journey to their former homes near Nyasa, and their hearts failed them.

Proposal to
Remain at
Masasi. "It was just such a spot as the pioneer monks of old, seeking for a habitation for the Lord of Hosts, would have chosen for a centre, and founded such an abbey as Fulda, in the German Wald, or Edmundsbury in the plains of Suffolk; and when the weary people looked upon the prospect . . . they longed for a rest to their journeyings, and said, 'Great master, let us cease our wanderings here. True, this is not our home, but it is like our home. We might seek for years among the forests, and never find the exact spot we were stolen from by the Arabs; here is plenty of water, everything grows well, and war is all but unknown. We are among our own people. Here we will live, and here we will die.'"

On inquiry it seemed that, at present, food was unattainable elsewhere. There were great difficulties in leading such a caravan further through a land of famine. So the Bishop "accepted it as the voice of God," and determined to plant the colony at Masasi.

Permission to settle here was readily granted by the chief, Namkumba, a great smelter and worker in iron, whose furnaces were old ant-hills, which are harder than any concrete, and to whom the Bishop made suitable presents of calico, brass wire, and ornamental cloths.

Settlement
at Masasi. Immediately the colonists set to work as one man. The Bishop marked out a site for the Mission House on an elevation. Then a road, forty feet

wide, was marked, leading thence to the river, and on each side allotments of nearly half an acre each were arranged, running back to the granite rocks, and the couples were given their choice. They stood this test of good temper and industry well; they put up bamboo houses at once, and in a fortnight the beginnings of a Christian village were arising at Masasi. Fowl-houses and pigeon-houses were not forgotten, and the forest rang with their axes clearing a space for their crops. The neighbouring chiefs watched with deep interest this Christian village in their midst, and humbly asked if, when their houses were



GRANITE ROCK, MASASI.

thatched, they would allow the rain to fall, which was much needed! The oxen and donkey which had come from Mbweni were a great interest, especially the latter, and when he brayed an admiring crowd ran together. There was such loss among the hen-roosts at first, that thieves were suspected, till a leopard was found preying on them, and the unaccustomed hunters slew him with some difficulty.

Then the Mission House was built, and as the granite rocks were soft and easy to work, the chancel of the

church was raised at once of stone, with ant-hill earth as mortar, a temporary thatched nave being added. An Arab chief at Lindi sent up a present of fruit trees—orange, lemon, mango, guava, Jack-fruit, and choice cocoa-nut trees—and with these the roads were bordered.

The Bishop speaks much of the exceeding beauty of the view, where two granite peaks, united by a saddle, showed a third rising behind; in other directions was a varied panorama of plain and cliff, forest and distant hills, while great granite boulders, piled up and covered with gorgeous lichens gleaming in the sun, made up a scene of truly African grandeur.

**Bishop Steere
Returns to
Zanzibar.**

Five young men and boys accompanied Bishop Steere on his return to Zanzibar, and learning much in a few weeks, returned to Masasi in the nick of time; for the neighbours, having decided that the village was meant as a base of operations for enslaving them all, had decided to go up and burn it. On the return of their friends they changed their minds, and sent fresh pupils to the Mission instead.

**Difficulties of
the Venture.**

Thus the colony was started. It was a bold —perhaps too bold—venture. For it was not merely making a Mission centre, quite unsupported and cut off, but it was transplanting thither a body of men, whose home it was not, and so becoming responsible for their good behaviour and safety in a strange land.

Government.

“In what way, it may be asked, was this community governed by the missionaries? They had two alternatives: either to form a statelet, make laws and inflict punishments, which would sooner or later involve them in native politics, or to maintain the village as a religious community, whose only weapon was excommunication, other penalties being

willingly endured as discipline, or not at all. They chose the latter."

It was soon found that Masasi, with its breezy position and absence of swamps, was as healthy a place as could be found within the tropics. Plants flourished so well that the cassava crop alone would have fed them for two years in the failure of other food. There are also salt workings and surface iron works in the neighbourhood.

Here the missionaries first began to influence the great Makua tribe, who dwell throughout the eastern half of the Rovuma district, about three hundred miles by two hundred and fifty. They are a singularly dull, unreceptive race, believing in very little, and very tenacious of that little. Their language is a very persistent variety of the Bantu tongues, neither time nor distance modifying it much. They don't care to be taught, and don't believe in what they are taught, while they have a strong prejudice (not wholly confined to Africa) against using their minds. Their customs are, however, more moral than in many places. Early marriages are common, the prohibited degrees are extended to all relations, and infanticide is forbidden. The Yaos, on the other hand, who live side by side with the Makua, are quick, lively, and intelligent.

The
Makuas.

For nearly seven years the colony at Masasi grew and prospered. The heathen around ^{A "City set upon a hill."} watched them, for Masasi was indeed "a city set upon a hill." First they saw that the Christian natives observed a sacred day, on which they did not work, but praised God; and whatever may be thought of the "Sunday Question" in England, there at least this is the abiding mark of a Christian. Next they noticed that on that day they tidied

themselves and were clean; and gradually they allowed their boys to go to the school, stipulating that the attendance should be quite voluntary on the boys' part. "They could do as they liked."

The Rev. C.
Maples and
J. Williams
take charge
of Masasi,
August, 1877.

At the end of the first ten months the Rev. Chauncy Maples and Mr. J. Williams were appointed to take the place of Mr. Johnson, who was invalided to Zanzibar, and on his recovery took charge at Mbweni.

Mr. Maples and Mr. Williams soon started on a journey to see and make friends with a much dreaded chief—Machemba—who received them gladly, and gave them two boys to take back to school. They also went to Newala, a populous district about fifty miles south of Masasi, and obtained leave from Matola, a Yao chief, to found a new mission station there.

1878,
May.
Foundation
of Newala.

In May, 1878, a fresh batch of natives, sent down from Mbweni, were settled at Newala, under the care of the Rev. Herbert Clarke, a newly ordained deacon; the chief showing himself very friendly.

Little did they think that in founding this station they were to some extent providing their own retreat in future troubles, practically proving the truth that as long as a Church does its duty in extending missions, its candlestick will not wholly be removed.

First Adult
Baptism
at Masasi,
June 9.

The freed slaves, planted by the Mission itself at Masasi and Newala, were the nucleus of all operations, and at Whitsuntide the first sixteen of these were baptized, and in March, 1879, came their confirmation and first communion at Zanzibar, already mentioned.

Treaty between the Sultan and the Maviti and Makua, Oct. 7.

Just as three years earlier Mr. Farler had made peace in Usambara, so now Mr. Clarke, sent by Mr. Maples, arranged a Treaty on the Rovuma between the Makua, the warlike Maviti, and the agents of the Sultan of Zanzibar. In



THE RIVER ROVUMA, NEAR NEWALA.

grass huts, on a sandy islet in the Rovuma, the Arabs and missionaries pitched one Saturday night, the natives being on the banks. On Sunday Mr. Clarke preached to an attentive Makua congregation, who, however, nearly lost heart that night, and consulted him about running quietly

away. In the afternoon he went to the Maviti camp and found them looking well, in skin coats, with bright spears. Next day the Maviti, numbering sixty, and a hundred Makuas came to the meeting, and made peace, promising not to catch each other for slaves; to let the Sultan's agent settle disputes; and to put no bar in the way of a road the Sultan wished to make to the coast. The hostile chiefs shook hands, and thus once more the Church was the minister of peace.

^{1879.}
^{March 18.} In less than a year Mr. Clarke had to be withdrawn from Newala, to take charge of Masasi during Mr. Maples' visit to England. Matola came up from Newala to bid the latter good-bye, and to beg for a resident. He promised that his people should not work on Sundays, and said, "Until you come back we have no one to teach us about God and Jesus Christ."

Before the end of 1879 the Rev. W. P. Johnson and the Revs. A. C. Goldfinch and John Swedi were sent to Masasi; and a school in the neighbourhood was put under the young native deacon at once,—“a really first-rate deacon,” Mr. Maples calls him.

^{1880.}
^{1881.} The next year Mr. Maples returned from England, and in 1881 he and Mr. Goldfinch took a grand pioneer journey, with intent to learn something of the power and distribution of the various tribes.

^{June.}
^{Journey of}
^{Revs. C.}
^{Maples and}
^{A. C. Goldfinch}
^{to Meto.} Journeying east from Newala, they inspected the Makonde district, and found it too thinly populated to justify planting a mission centre there. Then turning south, they crossed the Rovuma, and visited the chief of the dreaded Maviti in their stronghold at the foot of a rock on the Msalu. The chief, Chiwaru, oddly enough, was a Makua. These

Maviti, having wandered away from Nyasa, placed themselves under him, on condition of being allowed to settle there. The Maviti now came to Chiwaru, danced a fierce war-dance, and asked him to explain his guests. They listened quietly to the explanation; but when Mr. Maples had preached on the iniquity of war, and the love of God, for twenty minutes, they began to dance again, as a sign that they thought the sermon long enough!

Next the missionaries turned their steps towards the capital of Meto. They had heard much beforehand of the power and fame of Mwaliya, king of the Makua land of Meto. The approach to the capital was like a picture from the *Arabian Nights*. The vale of Meto is watered by bright and sparkling streams, and is in such a high state of cultivation that only the cocoa-nut palm, the mango, and the cashew apple are allowed to grow, all others being cleared away. A salute was fired in honour of Mr. Maples, and they were bidden to answer it; At Mwaliya's, July 12. and then they entered the royal presence, to find the sovereign sitting on a table, enveloped, face and all, in a silken cloth, like a veiled prophet. Great was their amaze and disgust when, throwing back the veil, a giggling youth of nineteen sprang down, in a state of intoxicated excitement, chattered, sang, and played the concertina. This poor dissipated youth is in truth a powerful ruler, and he accompanied his guests a day's journey on the road to Mozambique, and sent guides with them, and letters of introduction for the coast people. Emerging at last from this *Terra Incognita* at Chisanga, it caused them a revulsion of feeling to be met by the truly European demand for "Passports." Such is the red tape of Portuguese officialism.

Return to
Masasi.
Aug. 25.

Finally they reached Masasi again, after more than ten weeks' absence, having travelled nine hundred miles through an unknown country. In every place they had preached the Gospel, and told why they came; they had found out where *not* to place stations, as well as where they might do so; they had made friends with many Makua chiefs, and visits continued to be paid to such as were within visiting distance of Masasi.

Opening of
Masasi Church,
Dec. 24.

On Christmas Eve the new and larger church at Masasi was opened. There were five priests present, including the Rev. W. P. Johnson, *en route* for Nyasa. All the Christians assembled, the men on one side, and the women on the other, each in three distinct groups of baptized, catechumens, and hearers. Beside each group Mr. Maples offered prayer, till at the chancel step he paused :

"I alone remained standing. To my mind it was a very solemn moment; there was such a peculiar silence throughout the whole kneeling body that I could scarce trust myself to break it by lifting up my voice, and praying to the Son for ourselves. . . . It is given to one, once or twice in a lifetime, to feel those great silences, which seem to bring the Unseen so awfully and solemnly near."

The church was then, with prayer and hymns of praise, set apart for the service of God.

Another year or two of happy peaceful work was granted to Masasi, and then came trouble.

1882,
August.
The Raid
of the
Magwangwara

Stories of the approach of the Magwangwara began to be circulated, but as they were 350 miles off no one believed them. The Revs. Chauncy Maples and William Porter were now

at Masasi; and after consulting the native tribes around, Mr. Maples decided on going to meet the victorious army, while Mr. Porter remained in charge.

As the Christians were coming out of church on Sunday morning, a wounded man rushed in, reporting that the enemy were at Majeje, sixty miles off, and had shaken their spears towards Masasi.

Unluckily Mr. Maples missed them; for, while his party were taking a short sleep in the heat of the day, they slipped by. Mr. Maples turned and raced the enemy back, hoping to give the alarm. Alas! as they came in sight of their village, columns of smoke showed that they were too late.

Sept. 15.
Magwangwara
reach
Masasi.

"Standing as we then all fully believed ourselves to be," writes Mr. Maples, "on the verge of Eternity, we kneeled down with one accord and prayed for a time."

Immediately his five brave natives were felled to the earth, cut down as they rose, and Mr. Maples was only saved by being the first white man the Magwangwara had ever seen. Their astonishment cooled their fury, and they set the party free, telling them to surrender in the village. But—well assured that it was too late to save the village—they made their escape with difficulty to Newala, and reached it starving to find that their good friend Matola had nobly remained behind when all the other chiefs had fled to the hills, in order to receive and help the fugitives.

Before Mr. Maples left the village a difficult question had been solved. Should they use arms, fortify the Mission House, and fight in defence of their freed slaves? Should they abandon the place, as the Makuas did? or should they submit to circumstances?

The Attack.

They decided against taking up arms, and warned their people that if no resistance were offered, probably all lives would be spared. They were right. In the first onslaught, when one or two frightened people offered a feeble resistance, three adults were speared, and worse still, four children slain before their parents' eyes. The rest were held

The Ransom. to ransom. Mr. Porter, expending his cloth, bought back all but twenty-nine of the villagers, and these were carried back to Nyasa by their captors.

Mr. Porter's Journey (September). Waiting only to obtain barter goods, Mr. Porter and thirty bearers started after them, pursuing them to their own country, to find that nine of the prisoners had escaped, died, or been murdered on the way, and ten more being already scattered among the villages, there remained only ten to redeem. With these he returned after a sojourn of nearly four weeks among the Magwangwara. As they were desirous of killing a white man, and using his heart as a charm, he and they must both have used great self-restraint. They sent back by Mr. Porter, indeed, a blunted spear in token of peace; but this was not believed in.

1883, June. Masasi temporarily Abandoned. The whole district was now reduced to vassalage under the Magwangwara, paying a yearly tribute. In the following June it was decided to abandon beautiful Masasi temporarily, and to take the settlers to the neighbourhood of their own off-shoot—Newala. Thus in their hour of trouble the mother was saved by the daughter, “the branch of their own planting.” Altogether about one hundred went to Newala, eighty returned to Mbweni, and a few lingered on at Masasi.

This episode opened up the whole question as to the duty of the Christian missionary in the hour of such

peril as this. Ought he to fly with, or without, his flock? Ought he to persist in remaining and use no weapons but moral suasion? Ought he, in any way, to defend his people by resistance? May he fight in defence or in attack?

The
Missionary's
Duty in
the Hour of
Peril.

The wisest heads were puzzled. And the advice given practically amounted to "you must judge for yourself at the moment"; as,—indeed, Mr. Maples and Mr. Porter did; and, *situated as they were*, they did the best possible. There is less difficulty in Missions to any native tribe or nation. There the missionary can but let them govern themselves and fight their own battles; withdrawing if driven away, or suffering martyrdom if needs be.

But when a missionary goes as sole head of a tribe of released men, who yet are not a tribe, whose native customs have been interrupted and who are wholly dependent on the Mission for all ideas of education, government, religion and defence, it is a pitious thing to say that either in peace they must judge and punish their flock, and in war lead them to defend themselves; or that otherwise they must sit still with tied hands, and see the flock carried into captivity. Mr. Porter did indeed "go after that which was lost," but even so all could not be found.

The result seems to be that till the gospel has been preached to the war-like tribes, and they have bowed their necks to the Cross, the continent of Africa is no safe place for *colonies* of natives apart from their own people. A City of Refuge has been suggested, which might easily be strong enough to resist the incursions of such tribes as the Magwangwara, but this must be under competent civil and military jurisdiction, and could not be started by the Mission.

Old and New
Masasi.

And to-day beautiful Masasi lies desolate. For a time a few natives gathered there under a native teacher. Of late, however, a new Masasi has been founded, four miles from the old, so as to follow the migrations of the people.

Archdeacon Jones-Bateman, visiting "Old Masasi" in 1894, writes :

Archdeacon
Jones-Bate-
man's Visit in
1894.

"Old Masasi is a sad sight indeed. There lie the remains of the old stone church and buildings in their beautiful setting of mangoes and other fruit-trees, even cocoa-nuts bearing profusely, but alas! the vineyard tended so carefully by our first missionaries is now only 'bringing forth wild grapes.' Alas! too, a group of Christians are living here in a state worse than that of heathenism, redeemed twice from slavery, once when rescued and received by the Mission, and again when carried off by the Magwangwara."

And yet it is not all sad. Even the lesson was worth learning. Work has grown out of Masasi that is lasting, and it is not so much on our failure or our success that our longing eyes must gaze in mission work, but rather on what God will make of our failure and of our success. "There are no disappointments to those whose wills are buried in the will of God."

CHAPTER IX.

LAKE NYASA.

*" Thy lonely waters, as they gently swing
And murmur 'neath the cloudless azure sky,
Full many a lofty message through the eye
That rests upon the impressive scene do bring
To minds attuned to high imagining,
And spirits yearning for eternity ;
Such messages, I ween, can never die,
From heaven they come, despatched by heaven's King."*

—CHAUNCY MAPLES,

IN 1861 Mackenzie had been consecrated Bishop of the Mission to the tribes dwelling in the neighbourhood of Lake Nyasa and the River Shiré ; and still, in 1875, those tribes were untouched. But the eyes of the Mission still turned to their first love at Nyasa, and after fourteen years the long-pondered plan began to be carried out.

Bishop Steere, urged by the desire to work towards the old Mission field, started on his long missionary journey in August, 1875.

Bishop Steere
starts for
Lindi,
Aug. 31.

This walk to Nyasaland has often been alluded to, and some account must now be given. The Bishop was at first accompanied by a priest and two laymen, whom he had, on account of health, to send back from Lindi, the seaport town where they were waiting for porters. After a delay of over a month, the Bishop bravely started alone with native porters, commanded by the faithful James Chuma, who was " the soul of the expedition."

The journey lay through the coast settlements for ten

miles. Then came the Mwera forest, succeeded by the granite rocks of the Rovuma bed; and on the other side the Yao forest, through which the Bishop intended to make his way to Mataka's, a Yao chief, whose village Mwembe lay only seventy miles from Nyasa.

*The Mwera
Forest.*

We have the whole account in the Bishop's own words. The nine days' travelling in the Mwera forest, north of the Rovuma, was very difficult. They passed many villages of the Mweras, who are fairly good smiths.

Then came a belt of forest whence the inhabitants had been driven by the Magwangwara. Into this silent forest they passed, an awe, born of a very natural superstition, silencing the men, and they neither sang nor shouted. The ant is king of the forest. An Arab tradition says that Solomon once made a decision between them and the elephants, appointing a contest in which, though the elephants trod down thousands of ants, thousands more fastened themselves on the huge beasts and drove them into the water. And now the ant reigns supreme, while the elephant turns from his path, not daring to trample on the lines of marching ants. And no one else, who is wise, meddles with them either.

For several days after leaving the forest they followed the course of the Rovuma, which was then fordable, crossing it easily and gathering provision for the Yao forest journey. There was war in the land. The Magwangwara were on the war path, and though the Bishop did not come across them, he met Gindo, Donde, and other fugitives, flying, and making war as they fled on the country villages. They also passed some slave and ivory caravans.

After crossing the Luatize in rain, they found themselves close to Mataka's villages; and the Bishop writes:—

Yaoland.

"This beginning of the rains is the spring of the tropical year; the trees are coming into fresh leaf, flowers are everywhere showing themselves. Among the brightest at this time were the gladiolus, scarlet, white, lilac, puce, lemon and orange. No one in Yaoland need fear want of flowers about Christmas. It was past midday when we came to the Yao encampment . . . having made twenty-seven full days' travelling, the remaining eleven being days and half-days of rest and provision seeking."

First they came to Nyenje's, Mataka's nephew and heir. Nyenje had once been made prisoner by his great enemy, Makanjila, who, not knowing him, luckily sold him to a slave caravan instead of killing him, and he was taken to Zanzibar till ransomed by Mataka.

From Nyenje's the Bishop went on to Mataka's, reaching it early in December.

They reach
Mataka's
(Mwembe),
Dec. 10.

"We were all refreshed and in good spirits, and started early for Mataka's own town, with flags flying and a small gong making its music. . . . We crossed two narrow valleys, and round the shoulder of a great hill we came upon the broader one called Mwembe. . . . We blazed away a good deal of powder, and the town turned out in force to look at us. It was a new thing to see a genuine town crowd in Africa. Livingstone reckoned about 1,000 houses in Mwembe, and it has not since diminished.

Mataka came out of his house and sat upon an earthen throne in front of it, and the Bishop sat on a lower bench. He was only the second white man who had been seen there, and he had to display his arm in vindication of the fact, since the long tramp had bronzed his face.

Much as the Bishop longed to set eyes on the Nyasa, he

denied himself what would only have been a Pisgah-like view, and stayed a whole fortnight at Mataka's to conciliate him. Had he gone a little further, he might have seen the *Ilala*, the first steamboat ever launched on the Lake, making her trial trip.

Mataka was divided between a real desire to have the missionaries, and yet not to have them at Mwembe, where they would see too much of his slave trading, and he hear too much against it; and he suggested Losewa, on the Lake itself, as a station. Even then he was afraid they would make friends with his enemy, Makanjila.

The Bishop's Return. Before Christmas they started for the coast again, travelling in the route of the slave caravans. They hurried down, as the wet season was getting advanced, and the ground in the Yao forest was like a sponge.

As a practical outcome of this journey the Bishop hoped to plant a station at Mataka's, and one on the Rovuma; for it must be borne in mind that this journey was previous to the planting of Masasi; but as its chief lasting outcome was the Nyasa Mission, it has been thought well to keep it for this chapter.

1877, June. Mataka sends men to Zanzibar to ask for the promised Mission. A year and a half later nine men arrived in Zanzibar on behalf of Mataka, asking for the missionary promised by Bishop Steere. He had been much disappointed that the Masasi Mission had not come on to him. Alas! that they had to be sent back empty! and the poor old chief died a heathen because there was none to answer his cry, "Come over and help us!"

A new road to Nyasa was begun in 1879, from Dar es Salaam, a seaport with a very commodious harbour, a little

south of Bagamoyo. This led Bishop Steere at the end of the year to make a six days' excursion into Zaramoland, the country traversed by the road. His hope was to place a Mission station near Kola among the Zaramos.

Zaramoland is a very flat and rather uninteresting tract of country about thirty miles square. The chief articles of commerce are indiarubber and gum copal. The latter lies near the surface, and is hunted for by the natives with a spud. When any one strikes copal, he takes seisin of as much ground as he can grab with his outstretched arms and digs it up. His friends may dig near but not in his bit. The Zaramos are a graceful, slender race, lighter coloured than some tribes.

The Bishop was struck by the fact that the villages, which were numerous, kept off the line of the road, as if shy of so much publicity, and he remembered that very few English towns or villages lay directly on the old Roman roads. At Kola, thirty miles from the coast, he found a good state of cultivation, and plenty of fruit trees. The people listened willingly, saying, "We are all grown stupid here, we have no one to teach us better."

One young man ultimately came to Kiungani to be taught, but for various reasons the Bishop could never plant a Mission there, nor indeed has the road ever reached far inland. The climate seems peculiarly deadly for Europeans.

But Nyasa was still the goal towards which many hearts in the Mission were set, and at last Mr. Johnson was able to leave Masasi and advance to Mwembe, where a new Mataka reigned. He had an interview with this chief of the capi-

Zaramoland.

Dec. 29.
The Bishop
starts on a
Six Days'
Tour in
Zaramoland.

1880.
Nov. 3.
Rev. W. P.
Johnson settles
at Mataka's.

tal of Yaoland, and received permission to preach as much as he liked, and to assemble the people regularly on Sundays in the baraza. Mataka killed an ox and some goats in honour of the occasion.

In the early part of 1881 Mr. Johnson had to seek help from the Scotch Mission Station across the Lake in Livingstonia. His hands were ulcerated, and these good Samaritans nursed him and sent him away well.

Before Holy Week he had classes of hearers for men and women, and that week he read daily on the baraza the events of each day. During the week Makanjila's son arrived, sent by his father to make peace with his old enemy Mataka. They sealed it by killing an ox, and dipping their thumbs in the blood.

Makanjila's people are an instance of Bishop Steere's saying, "that it is a race with Islam which shall have the tribes." The Mohammedans flattered themselves they had converted Makanjila, and the prince brought a Mohammedan priest with him; but they all visited Mr. Johnson, and asked for brandy!

Mr. Johnson's letters at this time are quite pathetic in their longing—not for a white face, but for a fellow communicant, while letters several months old were a joy to him.

On Ascension Eve he admitted nine male catechumens, on their simple declaration that they wished to follow the Son of God, to keep His commandments, and to hear God's Word on Sundays when possible. He then cut out some crosses—"certainly not Greek"—from the top of an old biscuit tin, and gave one to each, to wear on Sundays.

April.
Peace made
between
Makanjila and
Mataka.

May 25.
First Catechu-
mens at
Mataka's.

Mr. Johnson now discovered that Mataka's was a regular rendezvous for slave caravans from the far interior on their way to the coast, but he could as yet only influence public opinion. A small church was built, and Mataka had sent a grandson for education to Zanzibar, when at the end of August news came up from the coast that Captain Foote of the *Ruby* had interfered with the slave caravans, thus ruining the trade of Mataka's country. It all came, they thought, from having an Englishman with them. However, they seemed to listen to reason, till, during a short absence of Mr. Johnson's on the Lujenda, Mataka was led to countenance the looting of his house and goods. A friendly message reached the traveller, advising him not to return, and as soon as he discovered that all connected with him were safe, he proceeded to Zanzibar, with no intention of withdrawing, but rather of making the temporary failure at Mataka's a reason for going further—only he stipulated for one companion worker, and the Rev. Charles Janson, then at Masasi, was assigned to him.

October.
Mission House
at Mataka's
looted and Mr.
Johnson goes
to Zanzibar.

They started off on Bishop Steere's old route and crossed the Rovuma; and then, striking west, made straight for the Lake, and in six weeks had traversed a great deal of hitherto unknown country.

Dec. 29.
Johnson and
Janson start
from Masasi.

"If we had chosen one of our whole number," said Bishop Steere four months later, "of whom we should have said that he was fit for the kingdom of heaven, we should have chosen no one more clearly and undoubtedly than Charles Janson."

He was one of those spiritually-minded men

"Who all around see all things bright
With their own magic smile."

And his last journals show him keenly alive to the beauty of glowing hill, and wooded vale, and creeper-screened river ; to the hippopotamus taking his morning bath, and

Feb. 9.
They reach
Nyasa.

to all the little incidents of the way, till on February 9 they reached the actual beach of the Nyasa, the desired goal of the Mission for so many years. They said it reminded them of the Sea of Galilee.

And then, just as the first missionaries entering that district from the Zambesi left only their graves by the Shiré, so Charles Janson's hallowed the Lake side. The rainy season had made their journey a very trying one, and Janson towards its close had been suffering from dysentery.

Death of
Charles Janson
Feb. 21.

"Our brother fell asleep," wrote Mr. Johnson, "on Shrove Tuesday at noon. He really made no complaint, and on Sunday was even equal to celebrating in the morning, and all day was full of heartfelt sympathy, which I treasured, not knowing what it really was."

On Monday he was carried to try to reach a more healthy place ; but, to help his bearers, waded through a stream. This brought on sudden, sharp pain, heroically borne ; he sank to rest, and Mr. Johnson had the grief of laying in his grave the companion so long wished for and so much loved.

Quietly the men came in and said the Lord's Prayer, and sewed up the body in matting, and laid him to rest, piling a cairn of stones over him. Full of faith and courage, Mr. Johnson, "thinking of that grave by the Lake-side as just a text, from which to preach the Resurrection to all those poor people about," took to himself the lesson so many have heard and learned at a Christian funeral, "Be

ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord"; and at once he passed on his lonely way on his Master's business. Fixing his headquarters at Chitesi's, on the Lake—a chief with many people and much cattle—Mr. Johnson went forth, and for about two years was almost lost to sight as he wandered through the length and breadth of the land to which the Mission had at first been sent.

One expedition he made to the Magwa-
ngwara, all unknowing that their army was at
the time destroying Masasi. He traced the
courses of the Rovuma and Lujenda; he wandered south
until he warmed all hearts by writing from "Near Mago-
mero," the early home of the Mission.

Mr. Johnson's
Travels.
1882 to 1884.

All this time, he assures us, the question of what station to occupy, and how the work might be carried on in the populated but unhealthy lowland round Nyasa never left his mind, and at last his plans were matured. Less men would be required, less time occupied, and less risk to health incurred, if, instead of settling with any one tribe, a dhow, or else a small steamer, were procured for the Mission. This could pass up and down the Lake, manned by Mission men and boys, and calling first at one station, then at another.

Plan of a
Mission
Steamer.

He hurried home to England, and laid his plans before the Committee, and finally left England again with a steamer packed in sections, and accompanied by Captain Callaghan, William Bellingham, and others.

1884.
Oct. 31.
The "Charles
Janson"
shipped for
the Nyasa.

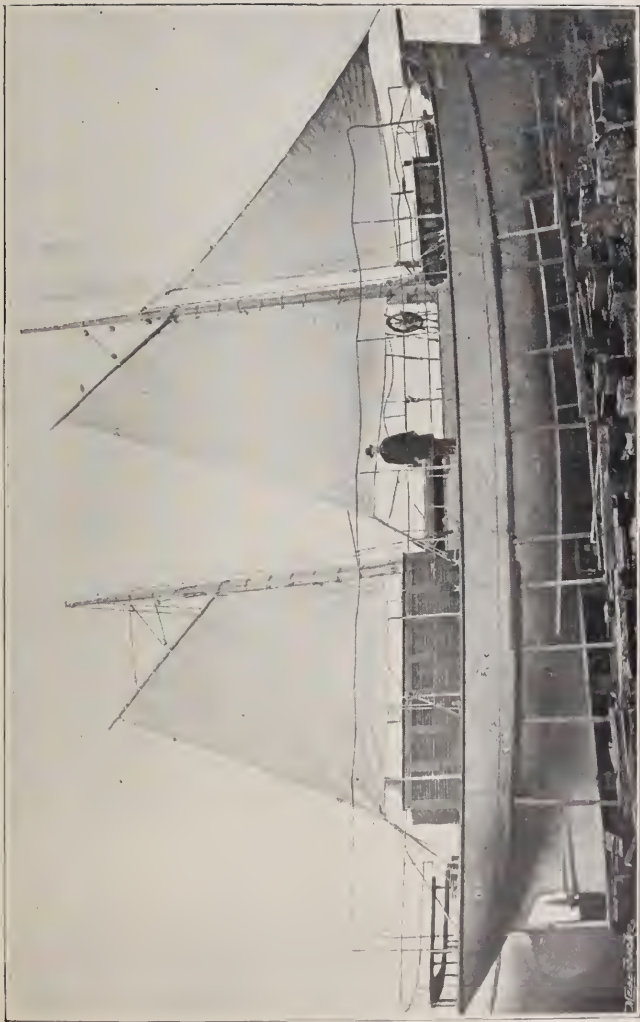
The task before them was most arduous. They were to go out round the Cape, up the Zambesi, and up the Shiré. Half-way on the Shiré there are the rapids, which involve

a portage of sixty miles. In that country there were then no roads, no wheeled vehicles, no beasts of burden. The steamer had to go up in so many thousand small pieces, packed in 380 cases—not one larger than could be carried on a man's head, or at best on a pole between two. Of course the loss of one small piece might delay the whole enterprise; while, if all were safely carried across, they had still to put the steamer together and launch it, under a tropical sun, in the midst of Central Africa, with no appliances but what they could carry with them. It seemed as if everything depended on Johnson, the one originator of the whole scheme, the only one of the party who had been in the country before, and the only one who could speak the Nyasa language. The start had hardly been made from the mouth of the Zambesi before Mr. Johnson was stricken down by a violent kind of ophthalmia, and found totally blind. Instead of leading his expedition to Nyasa he had to return home, spend many months in a darkened room, and undergo several operations; he lost the sight of one eye altogether, and only regained a dim sight with the other. Meantime the expedition went on without him, and thanks mainly to William Bellingham,¹ a veteran lay-worker in the Mission, the steamer was successfully put together. But the hut, in which was the boiler, took fire, and while all efforts were directed to rescuing an unhappy man and a boy who were working inside the boiler, much property was consumed.

1885.
Sept. 5.
Launching of
the "C.J."

The vessel, henceforth to be known as the *Charles Janson*, was however launched on the Shiré and dedicated on the following day (Sept.

¹ For a fuller history of this enterprise, see "*A Diary of a Working Man.*" (S.P.C.K.)



THE S.S. "CHARLES JANSON"

6, 1885) by Bishop Smythies. Verily the powers of evil had fought hard for the possession of this land, but in vain; and on January 31, the twenty-fourth anniversary of Mackenzie's death, Mr. Bellingham wrote from Likoma

1886.
Jan. 22.
The "C.J." reaches
Likoma.

to say, "We have the good news to tell you that the *Charles Janson* arrived safe with all on board on the 22nd." The motto of the ship might well have been *Gratias Deo qui nobis dedit victoriam*. Thus was fulfilled the latest plan of Bishop Mackenzie, when, in his last written words, he asked for "a University Boat."

CHAPTER X.

LAST DAYS OF BISHOP STEERE.

*" These in Life's distant even
Shall shine serenely bright,
As in th' Autumnal heaven,
Mild rainbow tints at night ;
When the last shower is stealing down,
And ere they sink to rest,
The sunbeams weave a parting crown
For some sweet woodland nest."*

—KEBLE.

EIGHTEEN-EIGHTY-TWO was a year of sorrow. We have already seen Masasi wrecked by a raid of the Magwangwara, and the gentle and holy Charles Janson falling asleep ; but a sorer trial was at hand for the Mission. He who for nineteen years had been the soul of the work, and who had ruled it for ten years so wisely and so truly, was about to be taken from its head.

Early in the year Bishop Steere had fainted in church, and was evidently out of health when news came of Mrs. Steere's serious illness, and he sailed for England in March, bringing with him the Revised Version of the New Testament in Swahili.

Arriving in April, he was little more than two months in England, but the work achieved was great. The Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and Durham were visited, and addresses and sermons given in all directions. Especially he made a point of going to see the families of those who worked under him feeling them truly to be his children.

Lands in
England,
April 17.

**Anniversary,
June 23.** The Mission anniversary was a very memorable one. The early Celebration at St. Paul's Cathedral and the choral celebration at St. Andrew's, Wells Street, will long be remembered as the last at which Bishop Steere ever assisted in England. He preached at the latter service, comparing the Mission work to that of our Lord during His earthly life :

**Bishop
Steere's
Sermon.** "When those dark eyes that could not see the Hand of God, and walked about in darkness fearing shapes of evil, now behold the Providence of God, and the angels of God around to help him, and the path of life clearly marked out for him, till the gate of Paradise is opened to receive him—when those blind eyes are open to see all this, it is surely like some of those old miracles of Christ come again, to be done before us and by us.

"But how is all this to be done? It is not done by wisdom ; it is not done by words ; it is done much more by *living*. . . . For although they may say the words of the gospel are like some old heathen book, yet there is one thing that no heathen could ever have dreamed of, and that is the life and character of Jesus Christ. . . . This life of quiet perseverance, this going about unacknowledged and unreceived, is the very thing that has opened and does open the souls of men to receive the gospel. . . . For conversions are not wrought by argument, but by the inner questioning of each individual spirit."

At the afternoon meeting Bishop Steere spoke again, telling the story of the Universities' Mission in fresh and simple words, speaking actually with watch in hand, that he might catch the train to take him the first stage on his return journey.

He had parted for the last time from his wife, who survived him only till April, 1883, passing away surely to the

reward promised to those who have given up their best ungrudgingly for the Master's service.

Auguries of the Bishop's end not being far off were not wanting. At this anniversary meeting the Dean of Westminster, speaking of the African workers, had quoted the words: "Verily, verily, I say unto thee, When thou wast young, thou girdedst thyself, and walkedst whither thou wouldest: but when thou shalt be old, another shall gird thee, and carry thee whither thou wouldest not." And the Bishop himself had said before what was evidently in his mind now:

"A Missionary Priest may well return and take up work at home, often it will be his duty to do so, but if he accept the office of a *Bishop* it should be for life. He may often do more from his arm-chair than a new man who does not know the country; and if it should be necessary to resign, a Bishop should be the servant of all, and can therefore be the servant of his successor. England may be the easiest place in which to live, but Africa is just as good to die in; and his death at his post may do much more than his life. What England wants, and what Africa wants, are many such deaths. Why should it be thought a great thing to die in the best of services?"

The Bishop sailed with the Rev. W. H. Penney (the Secretary), who was going out to visit the Mission, Mr. Whitty, Miss Bashford, and a sister of Miss D. Y. Mills. The voyage was long and hot. A delay of several days at Aden undid all the good of the Bishop's visit to England, and he landed at Zanzibar none the better.

Return to
Zanzibar,
July 26.

During his absence the Rev. F. R. Hodgson had remained in charge, with the title of Archdeacon, and the work had gone forward with spirit. Several boys and

girls had been baptized at Kiungani at Easter ; and the Church at Mbweni approached completion.

The last
Festival Day,
Aug. 24.

St. Bartholomew's Day had an added brightness in the presence of the well-beloved Bishop.

Seldom is it given to man to make his life so complete. Two days before he had finished the translation of the prophet Isaiah into Swahili.

The Bishop visited Mbweni the day before, and on the Festival he went to Kiungani to visit his native children, marrying two couples and giving the school prizes. Afterwards he walked back to Mkunazini with Miss Josephine Bartlett, who has given a record of those last days. Here he visited the workpeople and went to Evensong.

When the mail came in, he busied himself as usual with letters and packages till the evening of Saturday, the 26th, when he wished good-night brightly to the household, saying in answer to one who asked if he were going to Mbweni in the morning, "*Perhaps.*" Either that night or a few hours earlier he sat down and wrote the following letter for the Home Committee :

The Un-
finished Letter.

"Gentlemen,—I am sorry to have to tell you that I feel myself more and more unable to fulfil properly the duties of my office as Head of the Universities' Mission. I can reckon upon fair health so long as I stay in Zanzibar, but I cannot undertake journeys to and upon the mainland, and without them the Mission cannot be adequately superintended. I find also that I cannot bear up against the ordinary anxieties and petty cares which are continually arising, or deal with them without more of irritation and mental disturbance than is good, either to the Mission or myself. I feel bound, therefore, to put in your hands the offer of my resignation. I should not have hesitated about

retiring at once had it not been that there are still some things in which I think I could do the Mission good service.

"The first is by completing the translation of the Bible into Swahili. I think I could do this more quickly and probably better than any one else ; and if so, I certainly ought to do it. Another thing I should like to do is to carry further the little series of papers on the Mohammedan controversy, which I have already begun. I think, too, that I might be able to assist my successor in a great many matters, which come within my own knowledge and power.

"These things make me reluctant to leave Zanzibar for the present at least. I should gladly have resigned all my income and offices, and remained as a private individual, but I am under various money engagements which would prevent my doing so.

"What I propose is, that I should remain here as an assistant to whomsoever you should choose as the new Bishop, on the understanding that I am not to be called upon to leave Zanzibar, and am to make the completion of the Bible translation my first work.

"If you think it better I should retain the title of my office, I am quite willing to give up half its income to assist in finding a younger and more active and sympathetic man to undertake the necessary journeys, and to form a judgment of the wants and proportionate claims of the various branches of our work. I beg you to understand that I put myself in your hands unreservedly, only protesting that I am unable to do anything like what I see ought to be done, and that the consciousness of this inability prevents my doing even as much as with a clearer mind I might——"

The Bishop also corrected some proof sheets of Isaiah, directing them to the printer at Kiungani, and then indeed "The labourer's task was o'er."

Bishop
Steere's
Death,
Aug. 27.

In his sleep came the Master's call, so quietly that after the stroke he had never stirred, when on Sunday morning, while the congregation waited in church for the early Celebration, the Bishop's door was found locked, and the hard breathing determined his friends to break it open. Quietly he lay there through the day, no remedies availing, till at 3.30 he breathed his last, Archdeacon Hodgson commending to God the soul of that beloved father. But around that peaceful death-bed sad hearts were praying and weeping sorely; and after all was over the children from Kiungani and Mbweni came in groups to look their last on him who had shown them the way of life for this world and the next. Cecil Majaliwa especially, said that none could understand them like their father who was gone.

When the mourners assembled for Evensong that Sunday, the *sortes liturgicæ* showed them the grief of Elisha when his "Master was taken from his head."

The Funeral,
Aug. 28.

The next day they buried him "in his own grand church, behind the high altar, at the foot of the episcopal throne." All orders and ranks in Zanzibar came to that funeral, and Seyyid Barghash sent a representative. The coffin was carried by English sailors from the *London*. With the Swahili words he had translated he was laid to rest, the choir singing, "Oh, what the joy and the glory must be." But as the coffin was laid down in the chancel the sobs of the multitude broke forth, drowning even the organ, and for a while stilling the service.

"And his works
do follow
him."

Well, indeed, may it be said of Edward Steere, Missionary Bishop, as of the architect of that great London cathedral where the

Bishop received his last English Communion, "*Si monumentum requiris, circumspice.*" If you seek for his monument, look around at the church which he built, at the Slave Market transformed by him into a Christian quarter, so that at the foot of the accursed whipping-post he sleeps well. Look around at the weeping children whom God had given to the childless man; at the devoted band of helpers—priests and deacons, laymen and laywomen. Look around further at the mainland Churches whose candlesticks had been kindled by him. Look further still at the millions of Africans in heathen darkness for whom he prayed so earnestly and prays still. Listen to the soft Swahili tongue conveying in his words the old Liturgy and the Word of God; and then, if we dare, let us turn away, as if all this were a sight which had nothing to do with us.

Sympathy poured in, not only from the supporters of the Mission, but from the English Government, from the Church Missionary Society, whose workers he had helped so sympathetically, and from the Bible Society, which even now was printing for him the entire Swahili New Testament.

The character of a great man is best read in his acts; but his counsels are so valuable to those engaged in Mission work that a few of them must be given.

Bishop
Steere's
Character.

A letter of Archdeacon (afterwards Bishop) Maples will give a good idea of his great chief.

"Firm will, indomitable resolution, and force of character were, I could see, all written as plainly as possible about his mouth and chin, while the merry twinkle of the eye revealed the fine play of wit and humour. And last, though not least, the

overhanging brows and the broad forehead told unmistakably of the keen intellect and mental power he had turned to such good account in the service of the Mission."

Compare with this picture his saying to a candidate for Holy Orders: "Let me give you one word of advice. Never say, 'I can't.'"

The Bishop never despised the humblest work; and we find Archdeacon Maples saying:

"Thus it was that to us who knew him, it seemed as natural to see him plying a chisel or hammer or a needle, as to see him celebrating the holy mysteries or preaching to a native crowd. Like St. Wilfrid, he could show the natives how to do their own particular work better than they knew how to do it themselves, and could help them to improve the natural resources of their country. Like St. Athanasius, he was able to turn from one occupation to another as easily as if each fresh labour to which he gave himself had been his own especial study."

To quote his own words to a worker wishing for "promotion":

Counsels
"On Wishing
for Promotion." "I should hope well for the future if I had a priest working amongst the carpenters, and in whatever other workshop there may be, and learning there to sympathise with his fellow-helpers, and how to speak best to them of the great motive of his own life. One who lives and works among the natives is doing a great work by his simple zeal and diligence, and no one will be likely to make so effective a preacher, or so wise and discreet a spiritual adviser. I would never have a man to teach any kind of work as a mere lay occupation. I should prefer a priest, or at least I hope for a candidate for Holy Orders. A man who would do nothing but preach I should get rid of as soon as possible. We are here something in St. Paul's position, and he earned his own living by what people call secular work. He was all the better preacher

for it, and it would be absurd for us to praise him and not to try and imitate him."

And no parts of the work were too remote from his genius for his advice to be sought. Witness these counsels on the management of boys and girls.

"We have to train all of them into habits of neatness, promptitude, industry, and general good order On Management of Boys.—all most contrary to their natural dispositions, but all indispensable. We cannot trust to a boy's honour; he understands that to be a license to do what he pleases. We have not, as in England, the influence of a thousand years of Christianity to fall back upon.

"There is no difficulty whatever about any boy earning his own living anywhere; they can all do that with only too fatal facility.

"As to sending such restless boys to our mainland stations, I know it is the fashion to represent up-country life as freer from temptation than town life; people used just in the same way to imagine that country villages were better—purer than towns. We know very well that it is not so in England, and my experience does not show it to be so here."

"It is perfectly useless to try to discover what all are agreed to hide. You can do nothing but show On Management of Girls. that you have observed, and are angry about it. Do not speak of it again after the first day . . . At the same time beware of anything like favouritism, and be very glad to accept anything like a plausible excuse from anybody. It is curious how a sense of injustice, or the pretence of one, lies under all rebellion. If you allow their wrong-doing to vex you, you give them a power over you which they will not be slow to use.

"Why should it vex you that they want correction? If they were good, you would not be wanted at all; it is because they are bad we are here. Do not, therefore, be surprised if they are

naughty. *We* go on all our lives sinning and suffering; it is no wonder if school-girls go on wanting and getting punishment."

Archdeacon Maples gives a valuable account of the Bishop's sacramental teaching :

"The Bishop was of opinion that there was a
Sacramental Teaching. danger lest many fervent in adoration at the Holy

Eucharist should incline to the error of directing their worship rather to the Presence of our Blessed Lord than to His Person; thus he insisted strongly that a Presence, as such, ought not to, and indeed cannot be worshipped.

"He was careful, too, to draw attention to the *mode* of the Presence in the Eucharist, noting always its supra-local character.

"He feared lest some might even be led to adoration of *Res Sacramenti*, and to substitute it for that adoration of the Person of our Divine Master in heaven, to which this mysterious Presence in the sacred elements is intended to lead us."

Such was some of the Bishop's teaching; but his own life is the best lesson of all.

"You know," he once said gently and gravely, "it would be nothing to offer one's life, if it were no sacrifice."

Fresh Workers. And with heartfelt faith and courage those who had worked with him carried on the Mission, when their leader had fallen, encouraged by the accession of several new workers, among whom was the first fully qualified doctor on the Mission staff since Dr. Dickenson had laid down his life on the Shiré. Dr. Petrie was the first-fruits of the newly formed Guild of St. Luke. Another accession was the Rev. James Chala Salfey. He was a Galla, taken from a slave dhow, and adopted by Captain Hastings, R.N. He had been educated in England, and ordained deacon by the Bishop of Oxford, and

now offered himself for the ministry among his own countrymen—the second native clergyman on the Mission staff.

Archdeacon Hodgson was requested to remain at the head of affairs till a new Bishop could come out, and all the late Bishop had

Archdeacon
Hodgson
Head of the
Mission.



GIRLS AT MBWENI.

Miss Thackeray, Archdeacon Hodgson, Miss Bartlett

planned was faithfully carried on. The peal of small bells which had been presented to the Bishop at his parting meeting, but which he never heard, were successfully hung in the tower of Christ Church by Mr. Jones-Bateman, and

rung out for the first time on St. Andrew's Day. Mr. Jones-Bateman and Mr. Bradley also trained a choir of native boys for Christ Church, quite worthy of an African cathedral.

Deaths of
Rev. H. A. B.
Wilson,
Sept. 12,

This sad year did not end without more deaths. The Rev. H. A. B. Wilson, deacon in charge of Umba, was called to rest at Pangani, and his body brought to the island, and buried at Kiu-

ngani. We shall hear more of him in Chapter XIV. Lastly, James

And of
Chuma. Chuma, the first

boy belonging to the Mission, who had served Livingstone and others so faithfully, died of consumption.



ST. JOHN'S, MBWENI.

First Cele-
bration in
St. John's,
Mbweni,
Dec. 23, 1882.

The year ended happily, however, for Christmas Day saw the first Celebration of Holy Communion in St. John's Church, Mbweni.

Work in the
Island.

The Mission was without a Bishop the greater part of 1883, but the work went on. Mr. Jones-Bateman put up the carved women's gallery in Christ Church for the Arab ladies, which the Bishop had wished to live to complete. Fifteen fresh workers joined the staff this year, including (besides the new Bishop) the Rev. Duncan Travers, afterwards Secretary.

On New Year's Day the first number of the new maga-

zine, *Central Africa*, appeared. This should be remembered as an era in Mission literature, for never has a missionary publication kept up continuously so high a level of interest, proving that it is possible to have a mission record at once truthful and brightly written; and that as mission work is never dull, neither need its history be dull either.

In September and October the Bishop of Mauritius came to the aid of the widowed Church, visited the island on his way to Mom-basa, and held several confirmations.

But the time of her widowhood was over; and God was about to bestow on Central Africa a fitting successor to those sainted men who had gone before.

Charles Alan Smythies, the beloved Vicar of Roath, in Llandaff diocese, accepted the bishopric in the autumn of 1883, and was consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral on St. Andrew's Day. Like Mackenzie, he was a Cambridge man (Trinity). His consecrators were the Archbishop of Canterbury (Benson), with the Bishops of London, Carlisle (Harvey Goodwin, biographer of Mackenzie), Oxford, Llandaff, Bedford, and Bishop Tozer. Canon King (after-

First Number
of "Central
Africa,"
Jan. 1, 1883.



BISHOP SMYTHIES.

(From a photograph by Elliott & Fry.)

1883.
Charles Alan
Smythies,
Fourth Bishop.
Consecrated,
Nov. 30.

wards Bishop of Lincoln) preached on the text, "Sirs, we would see Jesus." The following passage occurring in it shows what manner of man the new Bishop had proved himself:

"The ability and assiduity with which you presided over a parish of more than 20,000 souls; the faithfulness with which you declared to them the whole counsel of God; the patience, tenderness and courage with which, as a priest of God, you laboured to set free and teach individual souls; the respect, gratitude and love which clergy and laity, rich and poor, have long felt for you . . . the simplicity and self-forgetting trustfulness with which you have given yourself to this new service, to serve your Lord, not knowing, not questioning, what the future of your life or death may be—all this and more gives us good ground for hoping that you will go to your new and harder work supported by the prayers of many hearts, and encouraged by the evidence God has already given you of His presence with you and His love."

1834.
Bishop
Smythies
reaches
Zanzibar,
Feb. 25.

The Bishop sailed in January, and reached Zanzibar on February 25. With him were several new members, being the first detachment of a reinforcement of fifteen who joined the Mission through his influence during that year. His first act was to enter Christ Church, where a Te Deum was sung with such joy as only those know who have been orphaned for so long a time.

Susi accepts
Christianity,
Jan. 1.

A very interesting catechumen had been received on New Year's Day in Zanzibar. Abdallah Susi had been a free man of about thirty, from a tribe on the Zambesi, when he was first engaged by Livingstone, and proved a willing, quiet, faithful follower for twelve years. It was he and the younger

Chuma who not only brought Livingstone's body to England, but (more wonderful for an African) took such good care of his journals, maps, and observations. Susi—after his visit to England—settled in Zanzibar, and was Bishop Steere's right-hand man on his journeys. Ever thinking of Christianity, he was never able to bow his neck to the cross till more than twenty years after he had first heard of it. Ow- ing chiefly to the teaching of Rev. H. C. Goodyear, he then became a catechu- men at about the age of fifty-three, and on August 23, 1886, was baptized, taking the name of his great leader, David. He was a great help to Bishop



DAVID SUSI.
Companion of Livingstone.

Smythies till $4\frac{1}{2}$ years later creeping paralysis came on. He received his last Communion, and sank on the 5th of May, 1891. The large number of people, headed by the Consul, at his funeral showed the respect he had won. His thirty years of steady, consistent loyalty and well-doing were a record for which an Englishman might be thankful.

PART IV.

"WHITE ALREADY TO HARVEST."

CHAPTER XI.

THE MISSION ON THE LAKE.

*"Cærulean Lake, let this thy message be,
To speak to us of Him, who in His Hand
Thy waters broad uplifts; and so may we,
While lingering on our pilgrimage, a land
Not bounded by earth's limits, ever see,
But far above her mists, the heavenly strand."*

—CHAUNCY MAPLES.

THE launching of the *Charles Janson* and her entrance on the waters of the Great Lake have already been mentioned; but as yet no spot was chosen to act as headquarters.

The broad and beautiful waters of Nyasa are gemmed by only two islands worthy of the name—Likoma and Chisumulu, which lie side by side just half way between the north and south ends of Nyasa. The larger of these, Likoma, is $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles long by $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad, with a population in 1885 of about 2,600. This island, whose name means "beautiful," or more probably "desirable," on account probably of its safety, lies about five miles from the lake's eastern shore; Chisumulu being about twelve miles further west. Likoma seems to be a very persistent bit of the earth's surface, which, when the crust

forming the Nyasa basin subsided, simply stood firm and never went under. It was discovered in 1877 by Elton (who, by mistake, recorded its name as Dikoma), having been missed by Livingstone, who seems to have got the other island in a line between him and Likoma.

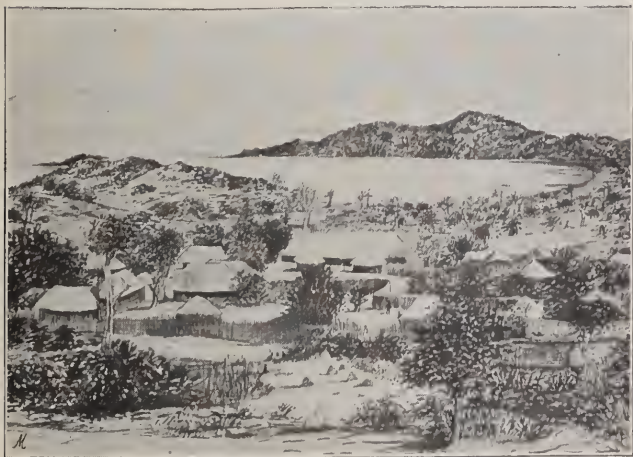
The island is somewhat barren ; a few sheep and cattle



VIEW ON LAKE NYASA.

do well among the scrub and bushes ; monkeys, coneys, wild cats, snakes, and crocodiles are to be found there ; also the fish eagle, hornbill, kingfisher, dove, and smaller birds. The cormorant builds its nest on the baobab tree, colonies nesting on one tree till it sometimes drops beneath the strain.

The inhabitants of Likoma, who are mainly Nyasas, are an industrious race, constantly occupied in fishing and net-making. Unfortunately, though, the island has proved neither healthy nor fertile. As headquarters for the steamer it is invaluable; but for the bulk of the workers some more suitable home will probably have to be found.



THE MISSION STATION AT LIKOMA.

It was this island that Bishop Smythies and the Rev. G. H. Swinny now selected for the Mission headquarters. The Bishop had left Zanzibar with Mr. Swinny, his wife and child, and had gone up in June by the old Zambesi route, visiting Bishop Mackenzie's grave, taking several weeks to reach Matopé, where the *Charles Janson* was being put

Likoma chosen
as the Nyasa-
land centre,
Aug. 24, 1885.
The Bishop's
first visit to
Nyasaland.

together. They went on to the lake, as far as Chitesi's, where Mr. Johnson had been stationed, and after surveying Likoma, decided on it for the Mission. This was on St. Bartholomew's Day—one of good omen for the new Mission.

This was the first episcopal visit to Nyasa itself, and this settlement at Likoma, destined ten years later to become an episcopal see, was the first realization in that district of Bishop Gray's memorable words at the great Zambesi meeting in Cape Town at Mackenzie's consecration, when he spoke of this effort as a first link in the chain of Missions which should one day stretch from Cape Town to Cairo.

One such link was the Zululand bishopric, founded by Miss Mackenzie; and when the chain is complete, one of its strongest links will be found to have been originally forged at Likoma.

The Mission was now at the end of the year left in charge of the Rev. G. H. Swinny, with a deacon, the Rev. L. H. Frere, Mr. Bellingham, Mr. Sherrieff, and the crew of the *Charles Janson*.

The Rev. G.
H. Swinny. Mr. Swinny had been a great acquisition. He was son to the Principal of Cuddesdon, a bright, merry young Oxonian, full of reverence and humility. He had such a training as falls to the lot of few men. First in a "holy household," but the "home delights so keen and pure" did not beguile his heart, and when "a sterner sound" summoned him he was not found wanting. After a curacy at Clewer, and a short time at Cowley, he sailed for the Cape, where he took charge of Newlands, a few miles from Cape Town. But his face was set towards Central Africa, and as a step, he went up to Zululand in



FOUR NYASA WORKERS.

1882, and took charge of Kwamagwaza. It was here that he felt called to minister among the Magwangwara, whose language was still Zulu, so that he would be understood. Meantime he had married Miss McKenzie, the Bishop of Zululand's sister, and together they devoted their hearts to this work. Thus it will be seen that the work at Likoma was to them only a preparation for carrying the kingdom of Christ to that wildest of all races in the Nyasa district.

1886.
Death of
Mary Swinny,
April 9. A sorrow fell on them at Likoma, in the middle of Lent, in the death of Mary Swinny, their infant child; and thus a baby's resting place was the first Christian grave at Likoma. In May the parents went on a mission tour up the lake to Mbampa

The Bishop
starts on his
second visit to
Nyasaland.
May 22. Bay, whence they walked to Amakita's, reaching it May 22, the very day on which the Bishop left Zanzibar to pay his second visit to Nyasa, taking the Magwangwara on the way.

Mr. and Mrs. Swinny were now three days' journey from the Magwangwara headquarters. But they had to return to Likoma, and it was two months later when Bishop Smythies reached Sonjela's, whom he mistook for the paramount chief.

The Bishop
among the
Magwangwara,
July 19. The Rev. W. P. Johnson, in his unfailing energy, utilized his time of convalescence in helping his brother, who was assistant curate of Aberdare, and before he was really well insisted upon returning to Africa. Once more he was turned back on the very threshold of his work, further medical treatment was necessary, and for that he went back to the Cape; but returning thence in November, he has accomplished the feat, unexampled probably in the annals of Central Africa, of working in Nyasaland for ten years without a single break. Meanwhile the Bishop took Mr.

Maples from Newala to supply his place. Mr. Maples went straight to the lake, while the Bishop turned aside to the Magwangwara. As he neared them, evidence of their terrible and savage wars was found in the number and audacity of wild beasts. So many bodies of the slain are thrown by these savages into the bush, that lions and hyenas have acquired a taste for human flesh. They also found the elephant, buffalo, and eland in their path.

Arrived at Sonjela's, the Bishop presented two loads of handkerchiefs, and the chief received them gratefully, saying he had been afraid no more Europeans would come, as he might have said things which displeased them.

At Sonjela's.

"As he is so often drunk, this is possible," writes the Bishop. "He got in a passion and scolded the people who crowded the door to see us. The Zulu¹ click came out strongly at the end of each sentence. . . . The houses in the village were very well built and spacious, coming very low down all round. . . . In the afternoon I went to see the source of the Rovuma. . . . The source was a marshy basin full of long grass, surrounded by mountains, from which hidden streams no doubt ran into it. . . . The small basin and narrow valley, with its rapid little stream, were a great contrast to the great marsh of Chiuta, from which the broad waters of the Lujenda rise, which I saw last year. I little expected two years ago that . . . the ordinary course of my work would lead me to the very sources of these two large rivers."

The Source of the Rovuma.

After spending a week with the Magwangwara, the Bishop started for Nyasa, having obtained a promise

¹ This is a peculiar sound made between the tongue and cheek, and in common with two or three other clicks made in the roof of the mouth and in the throat, is neither Zulu nor Kafir, but borrowed by them from Hottentot dialects.

that the Masasi district should not be raided in future. He had discovered that Mhaluli, and not Sonjela, was paramount, but could not reach him.

Arriving at Likoma, the Bishop found the Mission Church and houses on the slope of the hill, a "palace" of grass and bamboo having been specially run up for him. Twenty-five boys were already boarders at the Mission School, under native teachers trained at Kiungani.

After visiting Charles Janson's grave at Maendenda, the Bishop passed on to Makanjila's, where he was much struck with the size of the town—in which Mohammedan, though not Christian, teachers had been at work—and with the dignity of the chief, who only asked for a teacher and a little paint for his dhows. The latter could be supplied, but, as yet, not the former.

The Bishop was in good heart, for he hoped Mr. and Mrs. Swinny were about to push on to the Magwangwara, leaving the Lake-side stations to Mr. Maples, who was now appointed Archdeacon of Nyasa.

The *Charles Janson* was in full work. Her weekly trip was to Chitesi's on Sundays (sometimes on Mondays). Then, returning to Likoma, she ran down the east coast, visiting the Nyasa towns for sixty miles, and returning on Thursdays. On Fridays and Saturdays she either took short trips or remained at anchor. Once a month she ran across to Bandawé (the kindly Scotch station) for letters, and once in three months to Matopé, on the Shiré, for stores.

Her captain now was George Sherriff, a middle-aged Brixham trawler, who came out

The Bishop at
Likoma,
Aug. 2.

Rev. C. Maples
appointed
Archdeacon of
Nyasa,
Aug. 9.

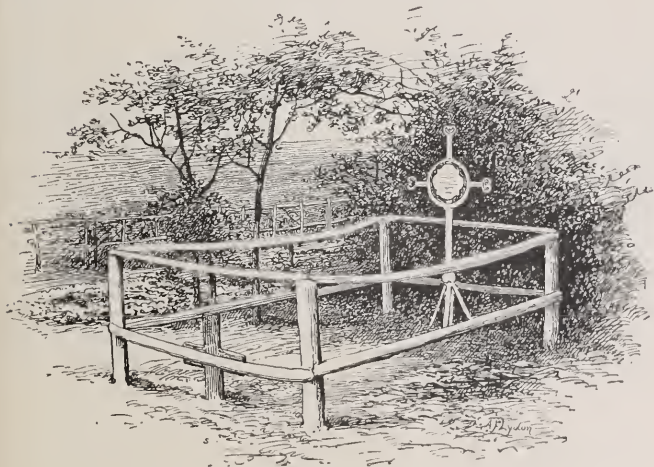
Cruise of the
"Charles
Janson."

Captain
Sherriff.

in the spring with Mr. Johnson to take Captain Callaghan's place. So devout was he that when first asked to carry the processional cross in his home parish Church, he knelt down and gave thanks that he was allowed to do something for the Church ; and he who had been faithful in that which was least, was called to be faithful in a greater matter.

In the November of this year, to the great advancement of the work, the Rev. W. P. Johnson was once more able to resume work on the Lake. About the same time Mr. Swinny re-

Death of the
Rev. G. H.
Swinny,
Feb. 13,
1887.



GRAVE OF REV. G. H. SWINNY, AT BANDAWÉ.

turned from a visit to the Magwangwara, having obtained permission to settle in their country, which he and his wife hoped to do in the following May. But that time was

never to come for him. They were at Chingomanje's when he fell ill of fever, and though taken across to Bandawé and nursed by his wife and the good Scotch missionaries, George Hervey Swinny's pure soul passed away calmly on Sexagesima Sunday. Just before his death, looking straight up with wide-open eyes, he said, "There is the Land we have so long desired ; all our loved ones are there." He was laid in the burying-ground at Bandawé, the first of the Mission to rest on the western shore of the Lake.

The time of the Magwangwara was not fully come, and a Mission has never been planted there.

Mrs. Swinny bravely stayed at her post at Likoma till Easter, 1888, taking charge of the little girls, and then sailed for England, dying on the voyage. In two years the whole family had laid down their lives for Africa.

In 1887 the Bishop again visited Nyasa, taking with him Mr. Joseph Williams, a valuable lay worker, whose help the Lake Mission retained for many years. On the way they visited Mataka, who had now moved from Mwembe to a hill called Mwera, a day's journey further west. Crossing a range of mountains with flowers growing on the very summits (among which was a blue larkspur, exactly like our garden flower), the Bishop came to Unangu, where he held Sunday services, and was well received by the chief's daughter and her women. Thence he went on to Chingomanje's, meeting a caravan laden with ivory ; but as he approached the village there was silence. At first, seeing no houses, the Bishop thought the stockade was made high enough to hide them ; but the village proved to have been burnt up as a punishment

Bishop
Smythies' third visit
to Nyasa
(July to Sept.).

to the chief for helping his ally, Jumbe, at Kota Kota, across the Lake, to kill Kazembe, a chief related to Mataka. Mataka had therefore ordered this revenge. Here the *Charles Janson* and Mr. Johnson met the Bishop and took him to Likoma, where he found all in order and remained six weeks.

The Bishop at
Likoma,
July 29.



FIRST CHURCH AT LIKOMA.

travelling about with Mr. Johnson, who rejoiced that his Bishop saw the people in their normal state of inattentiveness to their message, behaving no better than usual, and yet blessed the work and bade them take heart and extend it.

If those at work saw keenly the shortcomings of their influence, others from outside felt that the Spirit of God

was in them of a truth; and in this year a young ex-guardsman, Mr. R. Crawshay, who had come to Nyasa elephant hunting, was so struck with the Mission that he returned to Africa and for a time worked with the Nyasa party.

On his homeward path the Bishop skirted the Magwangwara, and even entered some of their villages, in one of which the headman hid himself, lest he should die within a year from the ill-luck of looking upon a white face. But elsewhere the fear and dread of the Magwangwara dominated the lives of the poor people. Everywhere refuges were prepared on the hill tops to fly to. In some parts they grew the scantiest crops lest they should attract these savages; in others they were compelled to sow and raise good crops that they might pay a good tribute. How long shall this reign of terror last?

At the Rovuma the Bishop came across the only Masasi Christian woman who had not been ransomed since the raid. He failed, however, to get her.

Continued
work at
Nyasa.

Several years of quiet, steady work followed, Mr. Johnson making trips in the *Charles Janson*, Archdeacon Maples working on the island, and making short journeys. After Mrs. Swinny went he carried on the Girls' School himself, with apologies to them for intermitting their needlework studies. In September, 1888, there were six adult male and twenty-eight female catechumens, and nine of the boys were baptized.

Mr. Johnson at
Msala, on the
Shiré.
Stranded in
the "Charles
Janson" (Sept.,
1888, to Feb.,
1889).

During a temporary disablement of the *Charles Janson*, when she was stranded in the Shiré for six months, Mr. Johnson started schools at Msala, near Matopé, using native teachers. Three of Mr. Waller's boys, whom

he had taken in 1863 to Cape Town, and who had been baptized and confirmed in Archdeacon Lightfoot's Mission, came on board the *Charles Janson* to see Mr. Johnson. They were now in the service of the African Lakes Company, and had kept up their Christian teaching, remembering the Canticles by heart. So the bread cast in such faith and love on the waters by Mr. Waller had not been lost.

In November this year some ladies came to Likoma—Miss M. E. Woodward and Miss McLaughlin—travelling part of the way in a boat, and stopping to inspect Mr. Johnson's new school at Matopé and to distribute the prizes. To the great relief of the Archdeacon, they freed him from the care of the little girls and their needlework.

Lady recruits
at Likoma,
Nov., 1888.

The political troubles of 1888 had threatened to involve the Mission. The Portuguese insulted the British flag. The Acting Consul, Mr. Buchanan, and Mr. Johnson went to visit and reassure Makanjila, telling him that the dispute need not affect friendly relations with the natives. The Arabs, however, persuaded him to seize the Englishmen; Mr. Johnson's cassock was torn from him piecemeal, and an effort made to put them in fetters, which, however, proved a bad fit. The Mission steamer had to draw off, leaving them prisoners. A messenger arrived from Mataka to tell them that only by misfortunes can we learn experience, which did not comfort them much. Then Captain Sherriff and the *Charles Janson* came back, and, finding that Makanjila made a grievance of a flag having been unfurled in his territory, a ransom of two drums of paint and one of oil and some calico was

Political
Troubles.

Mr. Johnson
and Mr.
Buchanan
seized by
Makanjila.

sent ashore, and the vice-consul released. Makanjila said that if one more drum and one bit more calico were given, they would throw Mr. Johnson into the bargain, and thus they were freed. The chief also liked one of the Mission boats and requisitioned it, but a friendly gale blew the boat back to its owners.



MISSION HOUSE, CHISUMULU ISLAND.

The troubles ended for that time in the Portuguese being made to understand that Nyasaland was under British protection.

A time of trouble is, however, often a time of grace, and in 1889 Mr. Johnson could write :

“The Church is becoming visible in the land, and is weaving a thousand links around our hearts. I cannot explain all the

hopes I feel in the baptisms and confirmations the Bishop has just effected."

This from a man who uniformly "forgets the things that are behind," and presses forward, scarcely noticing success, speaks volumes.

A new station was opened this year in the sister island of Chisumulu, under Mr. Joseph Williams and two native teachers; and Holy Communion was celebrated for the first time on June 6. Thus on the Octave of the Ascension another jewel was set in the diadem of our ascended Lord, and His kingdom was planted in another of the isles which had waited for Him.

New Station
at Chisumulu.
First Celebra-
tion,
June 6.

The Bishop's visit alluded to above was his fourth. He arrived in July, and found at Nyasa a field "white already to harvest." On one day he baptized forty of Archdeacon Maples' flock at Likoma, half of whom were the first women baptized here. Several other groups of Mr. Johnson's, dotted along the edge of the lake, were an encouragement to him, as we have heard. Most of the adults were confirmed, resulting in some sixty or seventy communicants in the island. Still better was it that the six boys baptized two years before were all steadfast—three at school, one actually become a schoolmaster, one a carpenter, and another an engineer. A dispensary and a printing press were also started, and a larger stone Church begun.

Bishop
Smythies'
fourth visit
to Likoma,
July 22.

The next year the Rev. L. H. Frere and Captain Sherriff, who had been home for a rest, sailed for Nyasa, *via* Cape Town. There

Meeting at
Cape Town
(May).

they held a meeting, presided over by the Speaker, Sir David Tennant, with the Metropolitan and Archdeacon Lightfoot present. To this meeting came Anne Daoma, once saved from death by Bishop Mackenzie, now one of the head teachers in Miss Arthur's Mission School in connection with St. George's Orphanage. She now offered a sovereign for the work among her own people.

That work was being pushed forward rapidly. Three new stations were formed under native teachers; yet Mr. Johnson still wrote warnings against roseate views of the Mission.

Actual state
of the heathen
Natives. "Are the people on the Lake all agog to see me or any of us? They are by supposition heathen—that is, more engrossed in their gardens, hippo-chasing, war scares, dancings, etc., than villagers at home."

And he draws a sad picture of the lives of these poor natives:

"There broods oppression on a petty scale, with tragic burnings and poisonings, fear of lions or sudden night attacks, and murders of a mother or near relative, who has been half the little world of life—things that leave the child an old man in heart, cut off from comfortable security."

Archdeacon
Maples visits
England
(May). In May, this year, Archdeacon Maples returned to England for a visit. Here he aroused much interest in the winter of 1890–I, and returned to Nyasa again by the Rovuma route, reaching it in October.

Anniversary
Meeting,
May 14. Perhaps an extract from Canon Scott-Holland's speech at the anniversary in 1891 will best show the extreme simplicity of the working of the Lake stations in these days of primitive Christianity.

Mentioning a letter just received from a missionary at Likoma who was enthusiastic about his offertories, he says :

“Referring to a certain offertory of February 15, he writes, ‘There was collected an offertory of salt, fowls, and fish-hooks, to the extent of 1s. 6d.’ But on the following Sunday the record was beaten : ‘Flour, beans, and salt collected, to the value of half-a-crown.’ A delicious picture comes up before us. But in picturing it, it is not wrong to remember those great kings who knelt to offer gold and frankincense and myrrh, and to believe that these offerings of Africa are just as valuable in the eyes of God as those rich gifts of the kings. He tells us of boys whom he dares not ask to fast, for they live a prolonged fast all the year round, and so he allows them beans in their porridge on fast days ; and those very boys in thankfulness are carrying stones with their own hands to build their Church.”

Truly, as was said in that same speech, “history is beginning for Africa.” Yes, history is beginning, and the harvest is ripening round Lake Nyasa, but the fullest ears are taken first ; and in this year one of those apparently most needed here was taken. George Sherriff, the brave, simple skipper of the *Charles Janson*, had fetched the Bishop, who was ill at Chitesi’s, to Likoma. Two days later he ran across with Mr. Frere and Mr. Alley, who were ill, to the Scotch station to see a doctor. Owing partly to the upsetting of a boat, Captain Sherriff caught cold, but worked on another week, communicating at Likoma on Sunday, August 9. All day he felt unwell, but would work on, lying down at times in his berth. Next day he wished to take Mr. Johnson across to celebrate at So Songolo’s station. Early in the morning, though too ill to move, he said “Try” ; and that was

nearly his last word. The vessel went across, but in the evening they brought him back to Likoma, where he was nursed by Miss Fountaine. The symptoms were like sunstroke; nothing seemed

Death of
George
Sherriff,
Aug. 12.



Mr. Crouch. Mr. Williams. Archdeacon Johnson. Mr. Sherriff.
CREW OF THE "CHARLES JANSON" WITH BOAT "OUZEL."

to do him any good, and he passed away on Wednesday morning. One who knew him well in England, wrote ·

"The letters received from Nyasa speak of his being a great loss, and one of the very best workers, and Mr. Johnson writes :

‘Don’t think it hard that he worked to the last—he would. He loved for us to go early to celebrate.’ The Bishop himself was at Likoma when George died. He blessed the grave. The crew bore him to the Church and grave, and there his body rests beside the Lake he loved so well—the body of a true Brixham trawler, who knew how to use his skill, which was great, so very humbly, for our Lord’s sake.”

This was the first grave in Likoma cemetery since little Mary Swinny’s, five years before.

The Bishop was ill during most of his fifth visit, but he confirmed fifty-five candidates. Mr. Johnson could write cheerfully concerning the slave trade :

The Bishop’s
fifth (and last)
visit to Likoma,
Aug. 2.

“We have got a hearing. We are known to the Yaos. . . . They have in times past been overbearing and insolent, but we have their confidence.”

This illness of the Bishop, and his certainty that he could undertake no more expeditions to Nyasa, even with his special powers of travelling, were among the main reasons for asking for a division of labour, by placing a Bishop in Nyasaland. Another reason was the growing importance of the country to Englishmen, and of the Mission to the whole Lake district, coupled with the re-opening of the Zambesi route, which made the overland journey from Lindi little used.

Scheme of a
Bishopric for
Nyasaland.

At Easter the Christians from the Lake stations, with their teachers, hastened to keep the feast at Likoma. All the Christians and catechumens observed Good Friday in silence till the Three Hours were ended. At seven a.m. on Easter morn-

Easter at
Likoma.

ing 108 persons communicated; and then came the "usual preaching at the tree" for hearers from the island villages. Matins followed, with the baptism of twenty adults and eight children. "Very affecting," says the Archdeacon, "to us priests who know what depths of sin



ARCHDEACON MAPLES PREACHING AT LIKOMA.

our candidates have often come out of." A census taken this Easter gives altogether 961 adherents of all sorts, with fourteen European workers in the district.

Great Fire at
Likoma,
Oct. 23.

On the nineteenth Sunday after Trinity a misfortune befel Likoma. The station was well-nigh burnt to the ground. A wretched

carrion crow picked up a piece of native porridge after a feast ; there was a live ember sticking to it ; this it stored in the thatched roof of the dining room early in the afternoon. It was soon in flames, which quickly spread to the Church, library, dispensary, and most of the living-houses. All these were separate buildings, yet the flames were carried from one to the other, and all were burnt ; the most heartrending loss being the library of 1,400

Mr. Glossop. Dr. Robinson. Mr. Johnson. Mr. Madan.



Mr. Corbett. Arch. Maples. Dr. Hine.

MISSIONARY STAFF AT NYASA.

books. But it is thankworthy to note the way in which those faithful men took it. Archdeacon Maples, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Atlay, and Mr. Joseph Williams, with the ladies and converts, gathered for Evensong in the new schoolroom, and sang a Te Deum to God for what He had spared them ! Well might the Archdeacon write : "First, what we *didn't* lose—no human lives and no tempers." His letter announcing it was not merely cheer-

ful, but merry—that of one who sat lightly to the things of this world, only sad when he says a far worse misfortune had come to them six weeks before, when four of their boys had come back drunk after their outing, and he told the boys so now.

Second Fire,
Nov. 5.

On November 5 a second fire occurred, burning up the Girls' School and seven other houses,



LIKOMA (the Bishop's House on the left).

so that the ladies had to be sent away—Miss Turner to England, Miss Fountaine to Bandawé, Miss McLaughlin to Zanzibar, Miss Woodward being already in England.

Bravely they set to work at once to rebuild. They said they had long been ashamed of the Church, and now would build a better one. Surely never was misfortune met in a more saintly spirit. In the words of the *Christian Year* for that nineteenth Sunday after Trinity :

" Yet knew he not what angel came
To make the rushing fire-flood seem
Like summer breeze by woodland stream."

But the year 1892 closed with an event of great importance for Nyasaland, which must have comforted the hearts of the waiting missionaries.

It had been decided by the Bishop and the Home Committee, in consultation with the Archbishop of Canterbury, that Nyasaland should have its own bishopric, and the sum of £9,000 having been raised, supplemented by grants of £1,000 each from S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., a bishop was appointed at once.



BISHOP HORNBY.

The priest chosen was the Rev. Wilfrid Bird Hornby, Vicar of St. Columba's,

Wilfrid Bird
Hornby
First Bishop
of Nyasaland,
Consecrated
Dec. 21.

Sunderland. He was a Brasenose man, who had rowed in his college eight, and had been one of the founders of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, where he spent six years. He seemed the very man for the work—one who could rough it and put life into his work. He had in seven years transformed a few poor people in a room over a pawnbroker's shop into a devout congregation worshipping in a beautiful church dedicated to the saint of Iona; and he now went forth, full of hope that, like St. Columba, he might, from his African islet, gather in the African races to the obedience of Christ.

Bishop Hornby was consecrated on St. Thomas's Day in St. Paul's Cathedral, with the

New Titles.

title of Bishop of Nyasaland, Bishop Smythies adopting that of Bishop of Zanzibar and Missionary Bishop in East Africa. They were to work in different parts of the undivided field of the Universities' Mission.

The new Bishop went out by way of Zanzibar, and then by the Zambesi route, visiting Mackenzie's grave, which was rather overgrown, but the cross still standing. What a contrast between 1862 and 1892 ! Then the badly-managed canoes were the only means of progress ; now steamers were plying regularly on the Zambesi and Shiré, and from them to the lake ; while at Ruo, where that river runs into the Shiré, where Mackenzie wrote his last letter to go down whenever Livingstone should arrive, there now stood a post-office, that evident mark of European civilization, stamping its letters with its own post-mark.

The Bishop had drawn out with him several new workers, among whom were the Rev. James Wimbush and Mr. Herbert M. Pearson, the former of whom is still doing the Mission's work at Nyasa.

Directly on arriving at the lake the Bishop held some Confirmations, in June, 1893, and was much struck with the beauty of Likoma and the good work going on there.

New Station
at Unangu,
Sept. 21. A new venture was made on St. Matthew's Day—the opening of a Mission Station, at last, in the heart of the Yao tribe at Unangu. With the lesson of the saint who rose up from his seat by the waters of the Galilean lake sounding in their ears, a little party, consisting of the Archdeacon, the Rev. Dr. Hine, William Cowey, four boys and thirty-one porters, started off from *their* lake, which had reminded Charles Janson of Galilee, and took a

fifty-mile walk, reaching "a great, solitary, double-peaked, or rather, double-domed mountain, towering above all the other hills which crowd the view to the horizon." This is the site of a really large Yao town of thousands of houses. The chief, Kalanje, gave them leave to settle there, provided they did not spy on his slave trade. He was assured that

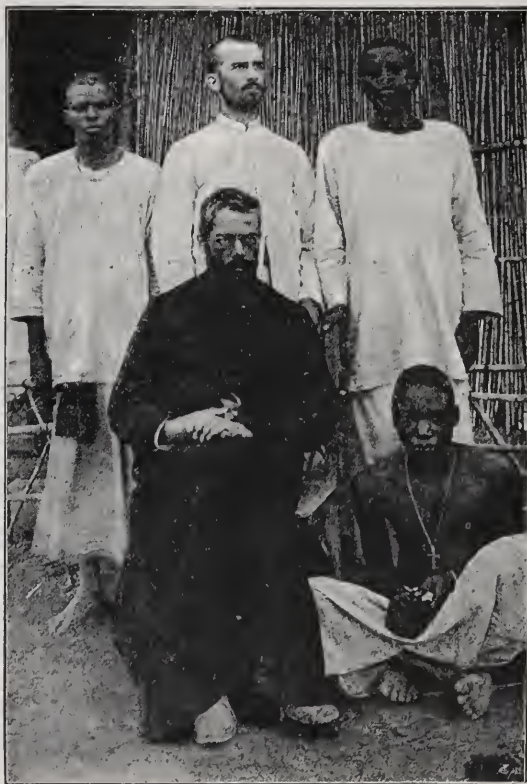


UNANGU.

they came for religious purposes only. After a week the Archdeacon left Dr. Hine and Mr. Cowey in their new home and returned to Nyasa, with his heart warmed once more towards the Yao people.

Bishop Smythies was enthusiastic when he heard of the new station, and offered at once to lend, for two years, to

Unangu, Yohanna Abdallah, a chief's son, one of his best



DR. HINE AND WILLIAM COWEY AT UNANGU.

native teachers, whom he hoped to ordain shortly. He and Dr. Hine have worked there since, but Mr. Cowey,

another of Bishop Hornby's old flock, who first assisted Dr. Hine, fell ill and died as he reached the coast, and was buried at Quilimane.

Death of
William
Cowey,
March 6.

More unfortunate still was it that, after a visit to Unangu, the Bishop was obliged to be invalided home, and returned to England, *via* the Cape, where so seriously did the medical men think of his chances of health in Nyasaland, that he had to resign his diocese in 1894, after about eight months' work on the lake.

Bishop
Hornby's
illness and
resignation
(August).

The disappointment to him and to the whole Mission can hardly be gauged. This second attempt to plant the Episcopate in Nyasaland had been even of shorter duration than the first. Well may it be said that, whereas those who work against God must use impatience as a weapon and do well to hurry, those who work with Him must be content to use patience. He Who has waited willingly 1,900 years to work His plans in darkest Africa, may well call on us to tarry His leisure, and to "account that the long-suffering of our Lord is salvation."

CHAPTER XII.

CHRISTIAN VILLAGES ON THE ROVUMA.

*"O Lord, our Lord, how spreads that little seed,
Which was, at first, of every seed the least!
The birds of air shall scarce its growth outspeed;
Its world-wide branches knit the West and East.
Rude as the Saviour's birthplace are its halls,
O'er which, like Bethlehem's star, the cross appears;
And oft the watchman of those outpost walls
In tented fields his wakeful voice uprears."*

—BISHOP CLEVELAND COXE.

IT will be remembered that in the history of Masasi, the sub-station of Newala was often mentioned.

A Mission is founded, now in this way, now in that,—perhaps least frequently, but most happily, under the influence of the chief or ruler. If "not many mighty, not many noble" are called, yet here and there we find a Clovis or an Ethelbert to go before his people in Christianity, as in war.

1878.
Newala
founded
(May).

So it was that the Yao chief, Matola, showed himself friendly to the Mission, and eighteen months after the first settlement at Masasi, he eagerly received the Rev. H. H. Clarke as a missionary to the Yaos. For six months, in the temporary church, the Yaos listened to the words of life, interpreted by a Kiungani boy. Sunday began to be observed, and the people were obedient to Christian teaching. It has been told how Mr. Clarke had to be withdrawn to Masasi, Matola, in touching words, begging him to return as soon as possible.

Next, Bishop Steere received a letter from Abdallah Pesa, the Mohammedan chief of a village between Lindi and Masasi, asking him "after compliments," to let his "English children" always visit him on the way to Masasi.

(Nov.)
Abdallah
Pesa's Letter.

"I should be rejoiced very much if you were able to send me an English teacher, to live with me, to teach my people, and the people of the neighbouring towns. If he comes, I will build him a house."

By the August of the following year we find preparations being made for Mr. Joseph Williams to go to this village, taking with him Charlie Ndegele, a Kiungani lad, of the Mwera tribe, who had just supplied himself with a wife, Cornelia, from among Miss Thackeray's girls. She was to teach the girls, being the second female native teacher of this Mission on the mainland. By November the station was occupied.

Mr. Joseph
Williams and
Ndegele begin
work at Pesa's
(Nov.)

About this time Newala was held again by the Rev. C. Janson and the Rev. A. C. Goldfinch. The former was rather disappointed in Matola. He suspected him of mixed motives in his desire for a Mission, and of making as much as possible out of his building contract. This was not unlikely in one not yet even a catechumen. Newala proved a good centre for influencing the Makuas and Makonde. Edwin Ramathani, who had come as interpreter from Kiungani, waxed shy when Mr. Janson began to preach, and could not translate, so Matola acted as interpreter himself, doing it very well; and was so much pleased with himself that next time Edwin began to interpret he watched him closely, till he could exclaim triumphantly, "You have left something out!" After which the chief was allowed to interpret.

Revs. C. Janson
and A. C.
Goldfinch at
Newala.

The history of these Rovuma Missions was, till the fateful year of 1882, an essentially quiet and unobtrusive one. There was little of the romance attaching to Masasi,—but “the trivial round, the common task,” are chronicled again and again,—a most satisfactory state of things for the Mission, if uninteresting to the student of history. Fleury, it is said, dreaded nothing so much as a “historical administration.”

So for the next two or three years Mr. Williams and Ndegele worked quietly at Mtua, a district of about ten miles around Abdallah Pesa's, where the Mission house stood. Occasionally Mr. Williams found means to collect a few Arabs and Swahilis at Lindi, the seaport 35 miles from his station, to talk on religion. “I am often able to say a few words for our Lord and Master.”

Lindi occupied by the Rev. H. Clarke, Nov. 22. So blest were these “few words” that the Rev. H. H. Clarke was sent to Lindi, and thus the chain of stations from the coast to the lake began to take shape.

Progress on the Rovuma. The next year—the year of the fatal raid on Masasi—much work was going on in the whole district. The Rev. C. Maples could record many villages which had renounced Islamism, the outward and visible sign being their keeping Sunday holy, instead of Friday. A native reader, Charles Sulimani, travelled round these villages, holding classes.

Matola declares himself desirous to be a Catechumen. Better still, from Newala, Matola, after great searchings of heart, came to Masasi to declare himself *willing* to be a catechumen. Much had to be given up before this could take place; and not in one year nor in two could affairs be arranged. Polygamy stands always in the way for a chief: he must,

before he can be baptized, put away all his wives save one, and must make a proper settlement for the others and their children, treating them only as sisters. Many tribal customs connected with heathendom and witchcraft must be given up—if possible without alienating his people. But from this time Matola set his face towards Christianity, even suggesting surrendering his chieftainship and coming to live near Masasi. But four months later came the raid, and Newala was the city of refuge for the released slaves.

For when all around him were flying to the impenetrable Makonde thickets, where alone they felt safe from the Magwangwara, this true friend, Matola, said, "If any escape from Masasi, they will come to me, and I must be here to help them." Thus, when Mr. Maples and his party staggered in, starving and ill, he was there to tend and feed them.

The next year, after anxious consultation with Matola, it was decided to move the colony in a body from Masasi to Newala, or rather to Chilonda, a spur of the Makonde plateau, close to it, and close to a good place of refuge in case of danger. Thus the raiding of Masasi brought about the great wish of Matola for resident missionaries.

The move
from Masasi
to Newala
(June).

The native colonists set to work to build church and schools and to clear ground; and being paid with beads, brass wire and calico, could buy food, which was plentiful, while time was allowed them to build their new houses, and to plant maize and pumpkins. The church was built entirely of bamboos, poles, and thatch, costing £20, and calculated to last seven or eight years. Matola took a deep interest in all, coming over on Sundays to hear and to ask counsel on stopping witchcraft. Supported

by Mr. Maples, he made up his mind to try first to cure his people of sorcery, and if he failed, to abdicate in favour of a distant cousin, and to become a Christian—a resolution which his Christian friends must have felt to be thankworthy.

Bishop
Smythies' first
visit to the
Rovuma
District, July
28.

In 1884 the Mission had the great happiness of a visit from Bishop Smythies, who remained in the district two and a half months, making himself familiar with the work. At Newala,

where the Bishop arrived on July 28, a conference debated whether to stay there or to migrate to the Makonde plateau, and it was decided to stay for another year.

Then the Bishop visited

At Masasi,
Aug. 17.

poor raided Masasi, where he preached on the tenth Sunday after Trinity; for Christianity was kept up there among a few natives by Charles Suli-mani, with occasional visits from the clergy. Looking on the ruined station, how must the Sunday Gospel have come home to the Bishop. Did he remember One who wept over the Holy City, saying, "*If thou hadst known*"? Did he remember how shortly before the destruction of Masasi, Mr. Maples wrote that the hearts of their hearers were cold and dead, and that they were too



THE CHURCH AT NEWALA.

prosperous, adding, "In all time of our wealth, good Lord deliver us"? Now their enemies had indeed come upon them, and their teachers were removed. The Yaos came to hear the Bishop, but not the Makuas, who still said openly, "The Makuas don't know God, and they don't want to know Him." When the Makua chiefs, however, asked for the Mission back, he told them they had lost their opportunity, but that he would try to send a teacher.

Returning to Newala he held a confirmation and a short retreat for the Mission workers; there were present the Revs. H. H. Clarke and S. Weigall (who had come with the Bishop); Mr. Irving, preparing for Holy Orders, with a view to Masasi; Mr. Williams, from Mtua; and Charles Sulimani. Apparently the Revs. G. H. Swinny and E. B. Smith had just arrived, the former hoping to go to the Magwangwara, the latter to work with Mr. Williams at Mtua. What a refreshment in the midst of years of anxious work must this retreat have been! On the following Sunday Mr. M. L. Irving was ordained to the Diaconate.

Retreat at
Newala ending
Sept. 21.

The Bishop made some short expeditions to see various chiefs, and before he left Newala held a solemn service to ask for the village the Divine protection against war and pestilence. After preaching on the subject, he led them in procession round the villages, chanting litanies, heathen and Christian alike joining; afterwards they had a festival and invited all the chiefs to dinner.

Blessing the
Villages,
Sept. 28.

This was the first Episcopal visit to the Rovuma since Bishop Steere founded Masasi eight years before.

On his way to the coast the Bishop visited Macheмба,

a sort of bandit, of whom we hear more. In the road they met a poor runaway, who was found and seized by eight or ten of Machemba's men, and in spite of a promise to the Bishop not to murder him, he was strangled as soon as they were out of sight. Verily the land was crying out for the reign of Christ to end the reign of violence. Machemba, however, gave the Bishop two pupils to take back to Zanzibar.

Next year the Bishop came again, on his return from his first visit to Nyasa. This was the journey on which he discovered the source of the Lujenda, which had hitherto been believed to rise in Lake Shirwa. On the way to Newala they spent a few days with the powerful chief Mtarika, who had heard a good report of them from Matola.

Reaching Newala on October 24, the Bishop remained there, and in the neighbourhood, for more than a month. The happiest event of this visit was the admission at last of Matola as a catechumen. His long delay was partly caused by his people fearing that if he became a Christian he could no more lead them to war. Some openly talked of leaving him and selling themselves into slavery. But all was now understood, and on the last Sunday of the Church's year Matola was to receive his cross from the Bishop.

Some eight or nine chiefs, with a goodly crowd of natives, assembled for the short Yao service, consisting of the commandments, a hymn, a New Testament Lesson, and then the Office for the admission of a catechumen, beginning with "The Lord is my Shepherd." Matola was led to the Bishop by Mr. Porter and Mr. Weigall. Mr. Maples then

The Bishop's
second visit to
the Rovuma,
Oct. 24.

Matola becomes
a Catechumen,
Nov. 22.

asked the usual questions, and after prayer the Bishop pronounced the Exorcism, and gave him the cross, worn by all native Christians, exhorting him in English, which was interpreted. There now only remained his polygamy as an obstacle to his baptism; but it was an obstacle which remained nearly to the end of his life, ten years later.

For some time the Bishop had wished to remove the Mission Station at Mtua further inland, as the converts were too near the demoralizing influences of the coast people. There was a Yao village six days' march from the coast, but still one long day short of Newala—Chitangali, whose chief, Barnaba Matuka, was already a Christian, being in fact an old Kiungani pupil. On this village they fixed, and when the Bishop passed up to the Magwangwara in May, he sent the Rev. Cecil Pollard and the Rev. Cecil Majaliwa there, their first Sunday being Whit Sunday, June 8. Soon after the Rev. E. B. L. Smith took Mr. Pollard's place.

Removal from
Mtua to
Chitangali
(June).

Some account must now be given of Cecil Majaliwa, who worked at Chitangali as long as there was a Chitangali to work at. He was a Yao, a released slave child received by Bishop Steere, and educated at Kiungani. In August, 1879, he married Lucy Mgombeani, one of the Christian girls, and a teacher. Before the Bishop's death he had become a Reader, and worked at Mbweni, being very devoted to his Bishop, and heart-broken at his death.

Cecil
Majaliwa.

At the end of 1883 Cecil was sent for a year's training to St. Augustine's College, Canterbury, and returning in February, 1885, worked quietly on for another year before receiving deacon's Orders at the hands

Ordained
April 4.



REV. C. MAJALIWA AND FAMILY.

of Bishop Smythies in Christ Church, Zanzibar, many of his Kiungani and Mbweni friends filling the church for the ordination of the third native clergyman of the Mission. He was now sent to Chitangali, and as a specimen of an educated native's letter we here give one from him to Archdeacon Hodgson :

"CHITANGALI, August 11, 1886.

"MY DEAR FATHER,—

"I was very pleased when I got the good news of Mbweni that you were all well, though it was otherwise with our brethren at Magila and Nyasa. But I am sorry for you, my father, that you should be all alone. . . . It is the same with me here. I am left alone in the midst of the heathen, like a cottage in middle of a forest. . . . The children here are not like those at Mbweni. There they honour the bell; here it is not so. One has to hunt them up like wild beasts. I have church every morning at half-past six; but I only use the Lord's Prayer and a few Collects, for here we have no Christians but Barnaba; he is the only one. . . . I have made it my custom to read by myself every morning from eight o'clock to nine o'clock. Then I go my rounds to look up the school children. . . . But on Sundays I have a great deal to do. . . . Prayers at nine in Yao. First I say the Ten Commandments in Yao, then the Litany, and after the Litany preach, with Barnaba for an interpreter. When I come out from church, I go to the Makonde towns to preach, and they are a long way off. Then I have Evening Prayer at five. For the Holy Communion I go over to Newala; but the two places are a long way apart, so I go once a fortnight. . . . I have got here a small harmonium; it used to be at Mtua with Mr. Joseph Williams. Many children come to school for the pleasure of hearing the sound of the harmonium. I think if I get some pictures they will come better. . . . Now the first thing I want to teach them is the small Catechism (Bishop Forbes').

Cecil
Majaliwa's
Letter.

. . . The day before yesterday I went to visit a Makonde chief, and talked to him about the things of God. He promised to give me his sons to be taught. The Makonde do not love friendship. They dwell by themselves in forests, and are very much afraid of other people. . . . They never wash, except



CHITANGALI STATION.

possibly in the rainy season. They say it is the most unlucky thing to live near water. Now good-bye, father; my respects to your wife.

“I remain, truly, your son in Christ,
“CECIL MAJALIWA.”

The loneliness of which he complains was caused by the deaths of the Rev. J. S. C. Wood at Newala, followed

immediately by that of the Rev. C. S. Pollard, both of fever. The latter, being invalided, was on his way to England, but only just lived to reach Mozambique, and died there, in the British consul's house, tenderly nursed by Mrs. O'Neill and Mr. Hainsworth.

Deaths of
Rev. J. S. C.
Wood and
C. S. Pollard.

The Bishop, on his return in November from his second visit to Nyasa, paid his third visit to this district. He found that there had been a

Bishop
Smythies' third visit.



little scare of Magwangwara, which ended happily,—the most serious consequence being that the friendly Masasi chief Akumbemba, who had retired before them to a hill-top, like all the natives, died suddenly of heart disease while scaling his temporary abode. Yohanna Barnaba's step-son, had been helping Cecil in his school, and was now sent to Newala; and the Bishop returned to Zanzibar, taking seventeen boys from Newala and Masasi to Kiu-ngani. It was, he said, very trusting of the parents to send them, for, barring slave-sticks, his party *looked* just like a

Free Boys
recruit,
Kiungani.

slave caravan. It was a great step forward for free boys from the mainland to recruit the Kiungani ranks, which once consisted entirely of freed slave boys.

Now that the Mission had spread on the mainland, how well it was that a Bishop who could travel was at the helm! He visited this district, the next year, both in going up for his third Nyasa visit and in coming down.

The Bishop's
fourth visit
(June), and
fifth visit
(Nov.).

In going up in June, he made peace between two Yao chiefs.

In coming back, he held a conference at Newala, where, among other things, the custom known as Unyago was discussed. The custom varies in various tribes. The one constant feature is certain dances, with singing. Much that is heathen and very objectionable is mixed up with Unyago customs. Hence they are incompatible with the acceptance of Christianity. A good chief can stop the worst features, but even so the songs are abominable. Of course the orphan children belonging to the Mission never join in an Unyago.

Barnaba
becomes
Nakaam,
and para-
mount Chief,

Something very interesting now happened. Barnaba Matuka's uncle, Nakaam, a powerful paramount Yao chief, died. Barnaba was chosen to succeed him over the heads of several senior men. His elder unchosen brother said that the chiefs chose him because the breadth his Christianity had given to his character had made him quite the leading man in the district. Barnaba had a difficult time. His Confirmation was fixed for the time of his investiture with the name and dignity of Nakaam. Moreover he, a Christian chief, found himself, to his horror, legally possessed of several wives, his predecessor's being by custom inherited.

Till he had made legal and honourable provision for them, he could not be confirmed. But he came through it all well; was invested at Masasi, ^{And is Confirmed.} and managed to get to Newala in time for the Confirmation. His sons and stepson were also confirmed.



BARNABA NAKAAM.

The ^{The Magwa-} next ^{ngwara scare} year there was again a war scare. The Magwangwara did, in fact, visit the country, and the natives fled. Cecil Majaliwa, who had just brought his wife and four children to Chitangali, put them in safety on the hills, and remained himself at his post till danger was over. This was really courageous, for all the Newala

natives absconded to the Makonde plateau, dwelling in booths like the Jews at the Feast of Tabernacles. The Magwangwara will not climb a hill, so they were safe there; but the desperate fear with which they

went about was instanced by a little scene witnessed by Mr. Wathen, of Newala. The plateau rises 1,000 feet of sheer wall above the lowlands, and only by precipitous goat paths could the people scramble down for water. As Mr. Wathen and his men were passing near this water, they were taken for Magwangwara, and heard a yell of fear as a boy dashed down the gully and ran a mile or two without stopping; after him ran his father, wishing he could go as fast as the boy; after him a grandmother tumbled down the path and started at a good run; but the two last heard reason, and thankfully stopped when they recognised a white man.

Machemba
defeats the
Magwangwara
(June). When the Magwangwara came, they marched as far as Machemba's, who fortunately defeated them, and the invincible warriors left about fifty shields on the field of battle.

This inroad occasioned one of those migrations of a whole village so puzzling to a geographer; for when one traveller has given latitude and longitude, the next discovers a serious discrepancy in the site. But if puzzling to the geographer, it is worse for the missionary, who must follow his people and lose all his build-
Site of Newala
removed to
Makonde
Plateau. ings. Now was seen the wisdom of the temporary buildings at Newala. The move was only to the dense undergrowth of the Makonde table-land, just above old Newala; the reason being that the Magwangwara are lost without the huge Zulu shields they still carry, and they cannot drag them through the thick underwood. Feeling that even this migration might not be final, more temporary buildings were put up, and probably the entire mission buildings at Newala have never been worth more than £100.

Here the Bishop found them in May, 1889. He had visited Chitangali, and had been delighted with Cecil Majaliwa's work, who, after a year and a half, was able to present twelve candidates for baptism, the chief's wife among them, making twenty-two Christians under his care; and when all the twenty-two were confirmed, the good chief, Nakaam, interpreted the charge. His stepson, Yohanna, now came to take the school under Cecil.

The Bishop's
sixth visit
to Newala
(May).

It will be remembered that in 1887 the Bishop met near the Rovuma the only Masasi Christian woman who had not been ransomed from the Magwangwara, and that he failed at that time to obtain her release. The next year Mr. Porter managed to recover her; and after six years of slavery Lilla Mawezai had kept her Christian heart, so that the Bishop now had the happiness of confirming her at Masasi, before going on to the Lake.

Rescue of
Lilla Mawezai.

The year 1890 was troubled, owing to some of the chiefs not submitting kindly to the German power, to which this district had been assigned as a "sphere of influence in the general mania for possessing Africa." Great distrust of the new European power was naturally felt at first, travelling was interrupted, and the Mission work hindered, not by the Germans, but by the natives unfriendly to them. This was only temporary, and of course our missionaries in the German sphere act loyally to the German authorities, teaching their people to look to the Emperor as their suzerain.

Troubles
between the
Germans and
the Natives.

This year was marked by the third milestone to a native ministry. The first was when John Swedi and George Farajallah definitely offered themselves for the ministry by being made

The Native
Ministry.
John Swedi
subdeacon,
Feb. 2, 1870.

Deacon, subdeacons. The second was reached when
 June 8, 1879. John Swedi was made a deacon, and now, on
 Cecil Majaliwa, first native the day of the Apostle of the Gentiles, the
 Priest of Universities' first native priest of the Mission was ordained
 Mission.
 Jan. 25, 1890. in Christ Church.

Here in Zanzibar, afar from the cradle of Christianity, afar off in time and place and customs, knelt Cecil Majaliwa, first of all his race to be called to the Christian priesthood. Four chaplains of the British Navy took part in the laying on of hands, and Archdeacon Jones-Bateman preached on the text, "This is the day which the Lord has made."

"Two days' whole holiday was given in honour of the event in all schools throughout the Mission. It is not easy to estimate what this day will become in the annals of the East African Church, nor what must have been the feelings of any present who could remember the old sad scenes that used to take place in that very spot where now one rescued from actual slavery thus received his heavenly Master's commission to loose the captive bonds of sin from the hearts of his fellow-countrymen."

A touching example of the way in which an African viewed the immense significance of this ordination is found in a letter which Cecil received from St. Mark's Mission, Transkei, Kaffraria, written by the Rev. T. K. Masiza, the first South African native priest, on hearing the joyful news, to express his rejoicing sympathy. In return Cecil wrote a charming reply from Chitangali.

Want of Lady The want of English lady workers for the
 Workers. Rovuma district was much felt. The boys, as they grew up, had to take heathen wives, and thus fell under heathen influence, for an African literally leaves father and mother and cleaves to his wife and to *her*

people. Mothers-in-law are stern realities in Africa. For it is a curious outcome of polygamy that the children obey the mother before the father, feeling her to be their own parent. The father, who divides his affection between many wives, has a divided authority over his children. One mother-in-law in this district even took away a catechumen's wife, because he did not work hard enough for her.

In this year died a convert, whose history illustrates the ups and downs of Mission work.

Charles Sulimani was the first free Makua to come to school at Masasi in 1876, and the next year he came under the influence of the Rev.

History of
Charles
Sulimani.

Chauncy Maples, he being then eighteen years old. Charles was a singular exception to the Makua don't-care attitude of mind. Mr. Maples, whom he loved dearly through all vicissitudes, says of him :

"His contrition for his sins was as deep, and his devotion for our Lord as tender, as any it has been my privilege to witness."

Among his teachers he was also devoted to the Rev. H. H. Clarke.

Baptized on Whitsunday, 1878, and named after a dear brother of Mr. Maples, he was, two years later, brought to Zanzibar for confirmation by Mr. Clarke. Mr. Maples, who arrived from England just after, took him to Magila, where, with earnest preparation, he received his first Communion. Returning to Masasi, he married one of the Christian colonists, and, working as a reader, sowed much good seed in the villages round.

In the Magwangwara raid (1882) he behaved like a Christian hero. His wife was among the captives, and he at once gave himself up for

Heroic
conduct
in the raid
of 1882.

her, lest she should suffer dishonour. The Magwangwara asked why the Christians did not fear those who could kill them. With deep reverence Charles made answer, "Because it is only our bodies you can kill with your spears; it is our souls that we care about, and you can't touch them." It is said that the savages were awestruck, having never realized there was that in man which they could not kill. A man giving himself for his wife impressed them much. Next day Mr. Porter ransomed him.

Charles Suli-
mani's fall,

After this Charles worked on at Masasi, staying there with Mr. Porter, when the emigration to Newala took place. Then came his temptation. He had worked hard, out of kindness, to ransom his relations and friends, but instead of handing them over to their natural chiefs he kept them under himself. The lust of power awoke in him, and he began to make himself a petty chief. No advice would he take, and he became involved in much that was sinful; and in his sin he remained for about five years, till, in 1888, his conscience

And
repentance.

awoke, and he wrote to Archdeacon Maples at Nyasa, asking to come and see him, saying, "Though I have had many masters in Christ, yet I have only one father." The next year (1889) he joined the Bishop's caravan when going up for his fourth visit to Likoma, and Charlie acted as cook. One night something happened which made a great impression on him. He and another man were lying on the edge of the darkness by the camp fire, when a lion came up suddenly, without roaring, and made a mistake for the first and probably the last time in its life—passing by Charles he seized the Bishop's saucepan of porridge. Finding this uneatable, he dropped it, again passed by Charles, and

was startled and driven off by the other man, who was saying his prayers. Charles felt that God had saved him from the paw of the lion to give him space to repent. At Likoma the joy of full Confession and Absolution awaited him. Surely his father and guide must have felt that happiness of which John Coleridge Patteson spoke when as a little child he longed to be able to say the Absolution, "because it must make people so happy."

After this Charlie was advised to enter the service of the Germans at Lindi, and he remained steadfast for the little time left him. In the following October, as he was guiding the Germans through Machemba's district, they fell into an ambuscade, and Charles Sulimani was shot dead, and buried the same evening. A little cross afterwards marked the spot where he rests, under the shadow of Him who had brought back and forgiven His erring child, "for he loved much."

Charles Sulimani shot in an ambuscade (October).

By the end of the year the Christian chief, Barnaba, had brought about a good understanding between the Germans and the natives, and all was quiet.

For the next two years there is little to record. The Bishop visited the Rovuma district in 1891 and 1892, and found all well. In the first he spent Whitsuntide and Trinity Sunday at Lindi and Chitangali. At the latter he baptized the first Makonde, and also baptized Nakaam's nephew and heir; and he visited Miwa, a sub-station entirely begun by Cecil. In the latter year he spent Ash Wednesday with Cecil, and, noticing a peculiar collection of rice, beans, etc., round the font, inquired the meaning. "Oh!" said Cecil, "being a fast day, no Christians would think of eating their midday meal. They have brought

The Bishop's seventh visit to Rovuma (May 17, 1891), and eighth visit (March 2, 1892).

it to offer to God. This food will be sold for the poor and given to the Church."

Changes of Workers. There were great changes among the workers at this time, but, roughly speaking, Mr. Porter and Mr. Hainsworth occupied Newala, and their place was taken by the Rev. R. F. Acland-Hood when they took their holiday. The Rev. T. L. Taylor had died in charge of Masasi. The Rev. E. Bucknall Smith, who attended his deathbed, was building a new Masasi; the Rev. Alfred Carnon (ordained 1891) remaining at old Masasi. By the end of 1892, however, the Rev. William Porter was once more at Masasi, with a deacon—the Rev. J. C. Haines—under him. At Newala, Mr. Acland-Hood was joined a little later by the Rev. James Grindrod; while Cecil was still at Chitangali, which, in 1891, had undergone a migration. There were also a large body of native teachers working under the clergy, some of them occupying sub-stations.

The Bishop's ninth visit (May). When the Bishop came in 1893, his reception was even more joyful than usual. At Chitangali the natives came out to meet him, firing guns, and throwing dust on their heads, which, contrary to Jewish use, is a sign of gladness. Behind them came Cecil Majaliwa and Barnaba Nakaam. Little more than five years ago these two had been the only Christians, now it was a Christian village. **Chitangali a Christian Village.** Better still, Cecil could ask the Bishop to make two of his friends Readers. These were Cypriani Chitenje and Hugh Mtoka—both since in Holy Orders. For this the waiting time of thirty years was worth while, and worth while, too, the precious lives poured forth like water for love of the lost sheep of the Good Shepherd. The



REV. J. HAINSWORTH, REV. W. C. PORTER, AND MR. WATSON AT NEWALA.

African, it was proved at last, can teach and understand the African.

Newala.

At Newala, too, the Bishop's was a happy visit. For in the school were over one hundred boys ; on Whitsun eve thirty-six candidates were baptized,



CHRISTIANS AT CHITANGALI.

while on Trinity Sunday seventy candidates were confirmed.

Visit to
Lumanga's,
May 23.

In the Whitsun week the Bishop visited Lumanga, a village lying in dense Makonde bush, about twenty-five miles from Newala. The Bishop entered riding on his donkey, which, as he said, caused about as much sensation as Wombwell's menagerie in an English village. Here the native teacher

was taken away to pursue his studies at Kiungani, and another was left in his stead.

Masasi also was visited, where a new sub-station, Mkwera, had been started.

Once again Newala was to see its Bishop. In Advent he came to the district, and, it seems almost monotonous to say, he found all

The Bishop's
tenth and
last visit,
Dec. 4.



NATIVE TEACHER'S HOUSE AT MASASI.

in good order. It was here that he heard of the founding of the Unangu Mission by Dr. Hine (already mentioned), and by an inspiration thought of sending Yohanna Abdallah, Nakaam's stepson, there as soon as he was ordained.

During this visit the Bishop spoke out on the status of women as affected by polygamy. He boldly advised the ladies to take the law into their own hands, and to refuse to live with husbands who took another wife. It was an absolutely unheard-of thing for women to take any action, but he was not without hope that they might do so. After all it would be a less change than that wrought in the position of women by the coming of Christ. Compare their position under Solomon with their position when a Greater than Solomon had come and touched the hearts and hands of women, and uttered His *Talitha Cumi*, making possible the dignity and glory of the Christian wife and mother, ay, and of the "Consecrated Virgin."

To such a future for African women we confidently look forward.

Bishop
Smythies on
the status
of Women.

CHAPTER XIII.

MAGILA IN THE BONDÉ COUNTRY.

*"Seize the banner, spread its fold,
Spread it with no faltering hold,
Spread its foldings high and fair,
Let all see the Cross is there."*

—KEBLE.

WE must pick up again the thread of the Magila story, whose early founding and temporary occupation, followed by the beginning of Archdeacon Farler's work, have been told before.¹

During the years 1880-1886 the building of the permanent stone church takes a prominent place in the story. Church building is apt to bring out what is good in the faithful, binding them together for a common object. It also raises the keenest opposition of the enemy. And so it was here.

1881.
Magila
church
building.

The Archdeacon asked leave of Charlie Kibwana to quarry stone for the church in his shamba, and several tons were taken.

A cheerful
Giver.

"Last week," writes the Archdeacon, "I found that our people had cut up his shamba a good deal with holes and hillocks, so I sent for him and offered him a kanzu and a dollar for his kindness in giving us leave to win the stone. He indignantly refused to take them, and said, 'What is this for? Why will you not let me share in the work for God? Am I not a Christian? Shall I

¹ See chapters iv., v., and vii.

take money for this stone? God placed the stone there, and shall it not be used to build a church for His honour and glory? I will not take a present. I want to share in building *our* church."

Armed resistance to church building (1880).

In 1881 a mason, Mr. Gill, had come to Magila, and in two years' time the station was entirely rebuilt. Church building had already begun in such earnest that a party of armed Bondeis arrived to forbid the work, which they were persuaded was a fort to dominate the whole country. They cut off communication with the coast, and for a few days there was actual danger.

"I invited their chiefs over to see what we were doing. But instead of one or two chiefs they sent a small army of soldiers, with orders to fight us and destroy the church and Mission station. I had a sharp attack of fever, when I was suddenly told that the valley was full of armed men, bent upon fighting. Our native Christians began to gather their guns, but I told them to put them away, and we all went down unarmed to meet these Makumba people. I went up to the chief man, and asked what he wanted. He said we must give up building, give up teaching

The church stopped for the time.

and preaching, and live like heathens. After a long talk I promised to stop the church building for a little while; but the rest of their demands I utterly refused. With a little patience and tact we got them to go away. All the people of this country stood round us splendidly, and this trouble has created a bond of sympathy between us and the heathen which will greatly aid our work."

For a time, therefore, a smaller temporary church was built.

The Rev. W. D. Lowndes, who joined the Mission in 1881, was now able to relieve Mr. Farler of a great deal of work of the more secular kind.

Next came the lime troubles. Limestone was found in the Nyika (wilderness), half a day from Magila, and easily burnt. But transporting it was a difficulty.

The lime troubles.

"When I was in Zanzibar I bought seven donkeys to bring it over, but the donkeys proved a failure. First a lion ate one,



ARCHDEACON FARLER AND NATIVE BOYS.

then four died (could not stand the climate), and the remaining two are laid up."

Carrying it on men's heads was slow and expensive, and, worse still, the Nyika people, after laughing at the idea of burning stone for anything less precious than silver, refused to let it be burnt or taken. The Archdeacon wrote for soldiers from Zanzibar, to insist on the lime being carried. The Bishop, however, wrote :

(Nov. 28.)
The Bishop's
advice.

“The more I think of it, the more it seems to me that the Mfuntí people have a right to interfere with the burning of lime in the Nyika near them . . . I should think there is no doubt that they have a right to cut wood and to cultivate the ground where you have been burning lime. . . . H—— says the lime lies within a gunshot of the actual clearings of the Mfuntí people. If anything like this is true, I am sure we ought to make an agreement with them, and satisfy all reasonable claims.”

So successful was this course, that two months later the Archdeacon writes :

Harmony
restored,
Jan. 26.

“All our troubles are over. . . . A letter came from Umba to say that the people who had refused to let us burn lime any more in the wilderness, and demanded fifty dollars for leave to carry what we had burnt, had now accepted my offer of thirty dollars to settle all claims in the place where we burn lime, and also the perpetual right to carry lime through their country. I am so pleased that I intend, on my next visit to Umba, to make them a present of twenty dollars, to show them that it was not money I contended for, but justice.”

The temporary church
opened.

By Easter Day the temporary stone church was finished, and the Archdeacon wrote joyfully that it was crowded in every part, though twice the size of the first church, the chief and all his officers coming in state, and every confirmed Christian communicating.

“It was a grand sight to see this large congregation worshipping the Risen Saviour ; not freed slaves, but free natives, coming of their own accord, because they felt the need of God. I heard one man say, ‘I could never feel hungry here, it is so beautiful.’”

Mr. Gill had also erected a new stone house, with bedrooms upstairs, for the missionaries ; a great improvement

on the mud huts where, when it rained, mud below and mud descending from above were the missionary's portion by day and night.

As the natives acquired more confidence in the builders, the permanent church went on again. By the end of 1883 we hear of the north aisle being roofed in, and the next year the church was half finished, and waiting only for funds; while the natives said: "Let the missionaries go where they like, build where they like, teach all the Bondeis."

Confidence of
the Natives
gained.

The spiritual work during these years had advanced and retreated, but only like the waves of a steadily flowing tide. This was a true native church. Many people say: "Where is the difference between free men and freed slaves? A slave may be of higher rank, and only recently taken." But the Christianity of the slave, freed and given to the Mission, is more or less a thing of course; the free native serves God of his own accord. By the end of 1882, two native deacons—John Swedi and James Chala Salfey, three readers—Acland Sahera, Lawrence Kombo, and Ackworth Songolo, with eight native schoolmasters, were at work in the district.

Early in the same year Archdeacon Farler writes:

"We have been having some little trouble with the natives. Not our neighbours, they were involved with us, but people living some distance off, who have been urged by the coast Mohammedans to drive us out of the country. I got wind of the matter, and sent a friendly chief to the meeting with a letter, which nobody could read; but as I had coached my friend up in its contents, and he held it in his hand, as he delivered my message, it did quite as well. They thought it a great compliment on my part. Every

Troubles with
the coast
people
(Jan.).

one took the letter and solemnly looked at it, and expressed himself perfectly satisfied. We were then voted with acclamation 'the brothers of the natives.' The coast people were very angry, but my friendly chief told them they had tried to breed discord in the land, and told many lies."

In May he writes :

"The work grows beyond my control. I cannot check it; I can only try to guide it. But we must have a doctor, another musical priest, and a schoolmaster who can play the harmonium and train the choir."

The first of these wants was soon supplied. Dr. Petrie. The firstfruits of the Guild of St. Luke sails for Magila, Sept. 19. Before Michaelmas, Dr. Petrie, sent by the Guild of St. Luke as their first medical missionary, arrived at Magila, where he was resident three years. His cures were the greatest help to the Mission, taking the place, as the Bishop remarked, of the miracles in the Early Church.

But now, as ever, the tares were among the corn. Mazagija's sin and loss of his cross, June 14. A young catechumen, named Mazagija, was cut off from fellowship with the faithful for taking a second wife. This a catechumen, of course, promises not to do. True, there were extenuating circumstances. The first wife had run away three years before, and he thought her gone for good; but on his marriage she reappeared, demanding her rights. The second wife had been highly paid for, and his father would not hear of his giving her up. For five years he had been held back from baptism previously, from doubts of his real conversion. Even now he wished to follow Christ *and* the desturi (customs) of the land; so that when the Archdeacon publicly took away his cross, asking if he valued a few

sheep above his salvation, it had a great effect : repentance followed, and on St. Bartholomew's Day he made a public confession, and received back his cross, having put away the second wife.

His repentance and restoration, Aug. 24.

From time to time the good seed sown in early days was found. A man, who came to church for the first time,



BUILDINGS AT MAGILA.
(The bells on the right.)

was heard repeating the Lord's Prayer, and said he had been taught ten years ago by Mr. Fraser.

On Christmas Eve the peal of bells sent out by Lady Elizabeth Clements rang for the first time (just a month after Christ Church bells had rung their first peal). Before daybreak on Christmas

Church bells
at Magila,
Dec. 24.

Day the boys were ringing them *con amore*, and the natives were delighted with the sound.

Early next year Archdeacon Farler returned to England for a year's rest, the Rev. H. W. Woodward remaining at Magila in his place. Before the Archdeacon goes let

us examine his daily work. Here is the record of a day's work.

A day's work.
 "6 a.m., rise. 6.30, Matins. 7, L.'s wife came to say her husband had beaten her, and she would go to her mother. I sent for L., and heard his story. Succeeded in reconciling them. 7.30, breakfast. 8, dressed the hurts of five men. 8.35, inspected kitchen roof, which was letting the rain through. Ordered repairs. 9-10.30, received out-patients, and made up medicine. 10.30-12, business, including instructions for storing rice, etc.; buying wood; finding drain wrongly made, had it altered; settled dispute between two goat-boys; looked at bullocks for sale. 12, sext. 12.15, class for heathen and catechumens. 1, private instruction to Christians. 1.15, lunch. 2, cook asked advice about fowls, Ackworth about work. 2.15, reading and rest. 3, instructions about work. Paid monthly wages. 4, tea. 4.15, Mission accounts for month. 5, went with Lawrence to Mbwego to measure ground for school chapel. Addressed the people on our purpose in coming. 6.45, returned and found Selenge with letter from Mr. Woodward at Umba; felt too tired to attend to it, and told him to come to me in the morning. 7 p.m., dinner. 8, evensong. 8.30, saw a patient. 8.45, saw Ackworth about his reading. 9, retired to my room. 10, saw all shut up; wound up clocks, and went to bed."

During his absence a desultory war went on between the Wadigo and Bondeis; but more melancholy were the stories of a man-eating lion. He attacked a woman and little girl walking between Magila and Umba. The people, who ran up at their screams,

A man-eating
Lion.

found the lion eating the woman, while the little child beat the brute with a stick of mahogo, crying, "Leave go of mother; leave go of mother." Verily, if a mother's love is strong as death, the love of a child does not fall short.

Another time he walked up to John Swedi's wife as she sat on her baraza with her children, in her husband's absence. Nothing could have saved her if the animal had not (as she said) been led by God into a pit made for snaring such animals; and she had time to shut up the house. In the end a Digo hunter killed him with poisoned arrows, but before the poison had taken effect the hunter himself had fallen a victim to the animal he had shot.

Early in 1884 the Archdeacon returned with Bishop Smythies, and in Lent they went up, together with the Rev. Duncan Travers, to the Usambara country.

Reaching Magila, they found the adherents of the Mission drawn up to receive them. The party came riding on donkeys, the Bishop's a noble white Muscat donkey. Thus they passed through the orange avenue.

Bishop
Smythies
visits Magila,
March 31.

"To me," said the Bishop, "no English village could bring the same feelings of strange emotion as that first sight of Magila. To see Christ our Lord enthroned in the midst of heathen Africa; to see here, far away from civilization, a civilized Christian village; to see the men and women rush forward from their work in the field to greet the man whom they look upon as their father, and who for all these years has devoted his life to them—this was quite different from anything one has ever experienced. . . . So near are the mountains that on the first evening I climbed up one of the lower heights, from which I had a splendid view of all the beautiful country, and right away to Zanzibar Island, eighty miles off. But it must not be thought we are housed very luxuriously at Magila. Our dining hall is what you

would call a mud barn with a thatched roof. . . . My bedroom, which serves as a sitting-room also, is a comparatively new luxury, but it has a mud floor and walls. The church is no doubt a marvel of skill to the natives, but it would hardly be thought respectable for a small village in England. We are now building a much larger one. .



VIEW OF THE MISSION STATION, MAGILA.

Rain-making. “Just now they have all been in fear of famine from the rain being so late in coming, and lately the chiefs had a meeting, and proposed that they should send a goat to Kibanga, the greatest chief in the country, to ask him to bring the rain. . . . Mr. Lavender said he supposed that they were going to send to Kibanga, because he was the most powerful, but the Sultan was more powerful than he, and the Queen of England more powerful than the Sultan. To this they

agreed. Then he said but even she could not bring rain; there was only *One* who could. One man pointed up to heaven. Mr. Lavender said, 'Yes; it was only God who could send the rain, and they had better keep their goats, and ask Him to help them.' They did not quite see it, but said they would postpone the meeting; and before the time was up the rain came, and they are all out here planting. . . .

"We had our Confirmation on Palm Sunday, Palm Sunday
at Magila. when twenty-one natives were confirmed. . . .

Amongst those confirmed was the old chief from Umba—Semkali and his wife. He walked over from Umba (twelve miles) on Friday, though he has a bad foot, which must have made it very painful to him. We began with a celebration of Holy Communion at six o'clock for the English-speaking new comers. Then at seven o'clock we had the Confirmation, the addresses being interpreted by Mr. Woodward. . . .

"Then there followed a procession of palms round the village, in which the whole population took part, as they have always been accustomed to do on Palm Sunday, and afterwards there was Holy Communion in Swahili. . . . Several chiefs came in to the service from the surrounding villages. . . .

"I hope to baptize three boys on Easter Eve, one of whom has quite a history. He said he was a free boy, an orphan, that he had heard of the Mission, and was determined to come and be taught. He accordingly asked a man who was coming here to bring him, but on the way the man sold him as a A Stolen Boy. slave. He was afterwards sold to another man not

far off, who one day happened to come here, bringing the boy with him. He told Mr. Woodward that he wanted to come and be taught at the Mission, but his master would not let him. However, the boy said he was a free boy, and determined not to be a slave. . . . Mr. Woodward then managed to redeem him, and set him free last Christmas Day. After some little time the boy came and said he had found the man who had stolen him, and he turned out to be a man who is sometimes employed by the Mission, and who had been baptized. According to the

custom of the country, the matter was referred to his friends, who decided that the man should either be sold himself, or work out the redemption money paid for the boy, and the man is now working for the Mission until he pays off the money. . . . It will take him nearly a year to keep himself and work out the sum. The whole matter shows that even baptized Christians take often a long time before they can see such a crime in its true light."

But the Archdeacon could not take up his residence here again till January, 1886, and Mr. Woodward's health compelling a holiday, Magila and its sub-stations were left to younger heads, who threw themselves warmly into the breach. Magila was chiefly worked by the Rev. C. S. B. Riddell.

A visit from the Bishop cheered them all in 1885. The buildings progressed, and now Mr. Gill had nearly completed the quadrangle, which (in spite of fires) has ever since crowned Magila hill. The stone church stands at one end, while houses for the missionaries, dining-hall, hospital, houses for boys and natives, and a store-house form the sides, and the Archdeacon's house and school were at the other end.

Feb. 2.
Bishop Han-
nington's
Visit.

A deeply interesting event occurred during this visit to Magila. James Hannington, Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa, visited Zanzibar. The most cordial kindness existed between the members of the C.M.S. Mombasa Mission and those of the Universities' Mission. Their differences of opinion as to modes of Church thought and practice seem but of slight importance in the presence of the kingdom of Satan, which all Christians are resisting. Brother draws closer to brother with the feeling, "Whether it were I or they, so we preach and so ye believed."

Bishop Hannington, then a priest, had preached in Christ Church, Zanzibar, June 19, 1882, "as a small return for the many kindnesses the Universities' Mission had shown us." But now he had come to hold counsel with Bishop Smythies, and finding he was at Magila, followed him up the country. At Mkuzi Mr. Wallis entertained him, and supplied him with a donkey to ride the eleven miles to Magila. As he rode, he saw Bishop Smythies coming to meet him, and the younger man lighted off his beast, and falling on his knees, asked his brother's blessing. He tarried awhile at Magila, holding earnest counsel and discussing plans.

Meeting between Bishops
Smythies and
Hannington,
Feb. 7.

In the Magila record book stands the signature of "James, Bishop of Eastern Equatorial Africa." On February 10 he departed, and on October 29 in the same year was led out to die by those he yearned to save.

Something should be now said of the civil state of affairs in the Bondé country. We read of many more "chiefs" here than elsewhere.

The Bondé
Federation of
villages.

Whole classes of chiefs occur as catechumens. But there is no true chief in the district, for since the Wakilindi chiefs were driven out in 1870, instead of paramount chiefs or "kings," a sort of federation of villages took place, each having its "head-man," often called "chief." These are the people who are so plentiful. A sort of respect has, however, always been paid to the Sultan of Zanzibar, and gradually also to Kibanga, a powerful Mkilindi chief, under whose protection, at a fortified outpost of Bondé, called Handei, lived his nephew, Kinyasi, the true heir of old Kimweri. The false Kimweri at Vuga often tried to resume the sway, but unsuccessfully, and the German

occupation put an end to such claims. Kibanga was very friendly to the Mission. "In fact," wrote Mr. Geldart, at the end of the year, "the whole Bondé country is in touch with the Mission; we are welcomed everywhere; even the Mohammedans are civil."

Next year the Bishop's visit was exceptionally interesting. He remained in the district seven weeks; and during this time visited Kibanga and Kinyassi. The latter behaved like a youthful Solomon; asking how to get wisdom to rule, how to deal with thieves and those who practised witchcraft. He was not very strong, but suffered from indigestion, and was much struck by the Bishop's advice to eat moderately.

One evening the Bishop accompanied Mr. Riddell round his villages. "He preached at two villages; our native reader, Ackworth, interpreted. It was quite dark long before we got home. This is what Mr. Riddell continually does, week after week. The country is full of little villages, and he is always going round from one to the other."

And then on the Feast of the Annunciation, March 25. Church of the Holy Cross, Magila, consecrated. Magila permanent Church was consecrated at last. Want of means, warfare, and weather had hindered it, but now it stood complete, consisting of a nave of five bays, with aisles and an apsidal chancel. There was a very dignified High Altar of rough stone, covered with cement, inlaid with mosaics in front. The Bishop, Clergy, and choir met in the old Church at the foot of the Quadrangle, and singing the Litany, marched to the new Church on the top of the hill, which was then consecrated under the title of the Holy Cross. It was well that this, the first and till lately the *only consecrated* church

in the Mission, should receive that name ; for deeply on



MAGILA CHURCH.

every page of the Mission records has lain the shadow of

the Cross. It was a link, too, with good Dr. Krapf's visit to Usambara forty years before, when he carved the Cross on one of the trees.



REV. C. S. B. RIDDELL.

June 11.
Death of the
Rev. C. S. B.
Riddell.

On St. Barnabas' Day in the same year passed away the Rev. C. S. Buchanan Riddell, dying of malarial fever. Fortunately Dr. Herbert Ley had arrived at Magila six months before, so that all was done for him that was possible; nor had Archdeacon Farler the distress (as on a former occasion) of not having

real necessities to give him. Conscious to the last, he received the Holy Sacrament, and died just afterwards, calmly sending a message to the French Mission, which he was to have visited: "Tell the French I cannot come; I am called to Court."

In the next two years many troubles fell on the district. Fire, storm, and war all played their parts in the trials of Magila. But before this the longed-for sisters

Aug. 11.
Arrival of
Sisters at
Zanzibar.

arrived. The community of St. Raphael's, Bristol, sent out Sister Agnes, Sister Anne Margaret, and Sister Mary Elizabeth. They reached Zanzibar in August, and after a week's rest started for Magila, with Miss Allen and Mr. Gill. At Pangani, where they were met by Mrs. Wallis, they were such objects of delighted interest, that they felt like royalty. Next morning they started on donkeys, single file; for whenever they

tried to hold converse, their donkeys did the same, in most defiant strains. The road to Mkuzi was like riding through a botanical garden with *Borassus* palms, aloes, euphorbias, etc. They arrived on a Saturday night, and were heartily welcomed by Mr. Wallis and John Swedi. Here they



GRAVE OF THE REV. C. S. B. RIDDELL, MAGILA.

spent two days, and were delighted to find Mkuzi had dispensed with the usual Dawa or fetish over the gateway.

On Tuesday they reached Magila, all the people coming out to meet them, shouting and laughing heartily, with guns firing and green boughs waving. Thus they approached the station through the orange avenue, and after kneeling in thanks-

Aug. 23.
The Sisters
reach Magila.

giving in the church, went to live in the hospital for the present.

At once they started a day school for girls, with sixty



THE SISTERS AT MAGILA.

children, and as many women and girls on Sunday for instruction; Miss Allen helping them much with classes for women, and learning Bondei by visiting the villages in the evenings.

The beginning of women's work for women in Magila was an era in its history, as an augury of the end of heathen marriages for Christian men. An evil of such unions is that heathen wives generally insist on their *vihili* being observed among the marriage rites.

Evils of mixed marriages of Christian and Heathen.

"These *vihili* or mysteries are quite unfit for any Christian or decent-minded person. The women refuse to marry unless these *vihili* are observed, and the men weakly yield. A man who yields is placed under Church censure till the wife is converted, or till he has shown true repentance."

Again, the heathen wife often insists on living under the care of her mother, and on heathen ceremonies, when her children receive the tribal marks, incorporating them into the tribe.

"Many Christians have been successful in resisting these ceremonies. Most of the *vihili* are so permeated with uncleanness of one kind or another, that the purification of these ceremonies is impossible, and therefore they are forbidden to Christians under pain of censure."

Therefore we shall never do much for a native Church, until the women can be made helpmeets and not hindrances to their husbands.

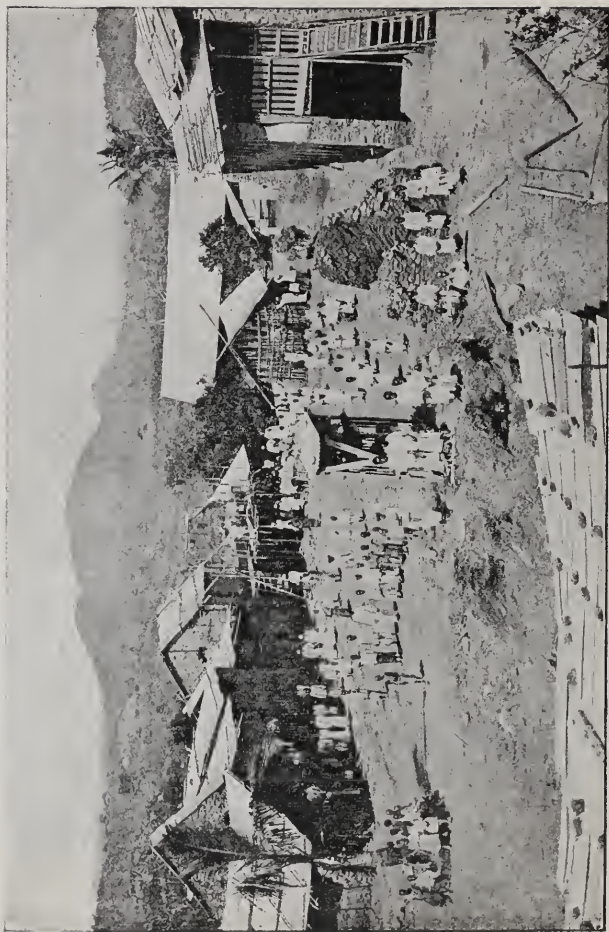
The Sisters were followed in November by Miss M. C. Townshend

and the Rev. M. Ellis-Viner. The latter had given great promise both in England and in his



REV. MONTAGUE ELLIS-VINER.

Rev. M. Ellis-Viner.



MAGILA QUADRANGLE.
(From a photograph taken after the fire.)

few months' residence in Zanzibar. On his journey to Magila he had tended a poor fellow whose foot had been bitten off by a crocodile. "Mr. Viner makes an admirable nurse; he has not had his clothes off for a week," writes a fellow-worker. Another tells how, in their passage across to the mainland, in a dirty, comfortless dhow, his spirits rose high as their discomforts increased, till when heat and rolling, cockroaches and stench reached their height, he exclaimed with genuine delight, "This is grand!" He was at Magila for little more than three months, and then, after assisting at a baptism of a large number of converts when he ought to have been in bed, he quite broke down and returned to England. After resting in England for some time, he started again for Africa, full of joy at the idea of getting back to his work; but his old illness returned, and he died at Mozambique, October 5, 1890.

Scarcely were the Sisters well settled in their work, before half the station was destroyed by fire. It was the first disastrous fire in the Mission, if we except the Matopé fire three years before; and, oddly enough, it happened on the ill-omened fifth of November, on which, five years later, one of the Likoma fires took place. The native carpenter's wife carelessly set her house on fire. It was at 10 a.m., and a high wind was blowing. The Quadrangle was quickly filled with men and boys, water was fetched from the river, but in vain—the natives' houses and several European ones were burnt, including the Sisters' and the half-built hospital, one schoolroom, the boys' dormitory, dining-hall and kitchen. But, by great exertions, church and clergy-house were saved. Miss Allen had to be sent for room to Mkuzi, and there was much illness in the cramped quar-

Nov. 5.
Great Fire at
Magila.

ters during the rainy season. The Bishop came up to comfort them in their troubles (which now included rumours of war), held a retreat and a conference, and spent Christmas there.

Jan. 6.
Second fire at
Magila.

But again on the Epiphany a native hut caught fire, and this time the big schoolroom and carpenter's shop went. Over £1,000 worth of damage was done, but one lesson was learnt. No more grass roofs were to be allowed in future in the Quadrangle.

Feb. 18.
Tornado at
Magila.

Six weeks later a tremendous tornado burst over Magila, tearing off the hospital roof, and driving the lay members of the Mission to take shelter with the boys below. In another part of the hospital the Sisters were suffering from deluges of rain, covering everything they possessed with mud from the roof. Great part of the church was unroofed, but this did not hinder a very large congregation from assembling on Sunday morning, who were not driven away even when a storm of rain deluged the partially unroofed church.

Scarcely was this disaster over before there was war in the land.

Feb. 27.
Masai Raid
into Bondé.

On the morning of February 27 war-drums were heard, no unusual sound, for Kimweri had been at war some months with the friendly Kibanga. Now, however, the war was carried into the Magila district, 400 Masai, armed chiefly with spears, being sent against the Bondei. The Masai are the most warlike and invincible tribe in Central Africa, dwelling beyond Mount Kilimanjaro, towards the Victoria Nyanza. They are not allied to the Bantu, or negro race, to which most Eastern Central Africans and all South Africans belong, but are thought to be of another

Hamitic race, akin to some of those in North Africa. During the fierce tribal wars between the different sections of Masai, some have been driven south, even as far as Zigualand, where they keep tribally distinct from the Zigua. Some such body of Masai had lately come with their cattle into the neighbourhood, seeking pasture on account of scarcity, and these were hired by old Kimweri to help him in the vain struggle to recapture the Shambala or Bondé country. The latter are not remarkable for courage, and they were pitted against the greatest warriors of Africa. But "there's safety in numbers," and the Bondei came together in such force, and used the vantage points of the country so well that they drove the enemy off—those who fell on both sides having their wounds honourably in front.

On the first alarm, the Archdeacon sent the ladies and boys to Mkuzi, and barricaded and provisioned Magila Church as a place of refuge, which might have been needed, for old Kimweri, believing his Masai could only have been defeated by European help, sent a message that he would wipe out the Mission. The Archdeacon therefore set forth to seek Kimweri at his camp in the mountains, and make peace. Sending Ackworth forward with a letter, he took with him another Reader, Petro Limo, nephew of Kimweri. Pausing outside the camp for permission, the Archdeacon desired to bathe and change his clothes before being presented. The only possible bath was an empty powder cask, and crowds assembled to see him take it. He

Archdeacon
Farler makes
peace with
Kimweri,
March 7.

modestly retired into the bush, but found every spot of vantage ground occupied by admiring spectators. Kimweri, on his side, not to be outdone in politeness, made

himself very uncomfortable in a complete suit of European clothes, and patent leather boots.

"He was a handsome man," wrote Archdeacon Farler, "very light coloured, and with a kingly look about him. . . . I introduced his nephew, Petro Limo, to him, and he questioned him closely. When he found that he knew English, Swahili, Bondei, a little Hindustani, as well as writing in Arabic characters, he was delighted with him, and introduced him to his brothers as one of the family."

Then came the serious talking over terms of peace, which *must* include Kimweri abandoning his stockaded camp, and going back to Vuga. At last he consented, and the Archdeacon started off for Kibanga, where he had still harder work to make Kibanga's brothers believe that crafty Kimweri meant peace. Peace, however, was made, but at the cost of Magila losing its Archdeacon, who was carried ill to Zanzibar; and though he came back in May for a time, in August he finally returned to England, having left Petro Limo at Kiungani to prepare for Holy Orders.

Aug. 28.
Archdeacon
Farler leaves
the Mission.

His work. Mr. Farler's retirement was a great loss to Usambara at this troubled period. Thirteen years before he had found a few huts belonging to the Mission—a few natives influenced during the too transient visits of the clergy. He left a beautiful and important central station, with its stately quadrangle nearly rebuilt, schools of more than 200 boys, two clergy, sisters, nurse, doctor, schoolmaster, builder, carpenter, storekeeper, and three native readers. He left three regular sub-stations—Umba, Misozwe, and Mkuzi—each with its clerical head and little staff of native teachers, whose labours extended into many neighbouring villages. He

left also a large body of native Christians, catechumens, and hearers, and part of the Holy Scripture translated into Bondei—St. Matthew and St. Luke being specially named.

The Rev. H. C. Goodyear now took charge till his death next year, and during the last three months of that time he was Archdeacon of Magila.

Magila's troubles were not yet over. Like all other stations, it was much tried by native hatred of German rule—not the rule of the German Empire, but of the German East African Company. Certain persons went round the country in 1885, professing to make treaties with the chiefs in order to acquire sovereign rights over the tribes. Now, no native chief in his senses ever disposed of his rights to entire strangers for no just equivalent. Hearing of these pretended treaties, the natives began to say, "The Arabs we know, and the English we know, but who are these?" Next these Germans obtained in 1888 a treaty from Seyid Barghash, giving them rights over the coast from the Umba to the Rovuma for fifty years. The poor Sultan said such a treaty would kill him, and it did. He died March 27, 1888. The coast Arabs declared that if the Germans meddled with anything beyond the customs, they would know the reason why; and when the Company insulted the Sultan's flag, they rose and expelled them, especially at Pangani, the Magila seaport. Fortunately they did not confound the missionaries with the Germans, but all communication was cut off for a time. The Sultan, prompted by the Consul-General, Colonel Euan Smith, sent an Arab guard to fetch the Mission, but they were not allowed to land. The German Government then took up the matter on behalf of the defeated German trading Company.

German
troubles.

Death of
Sultan
Barghash,
March 27.

The Blockade,
Nov. 12. The English and Germans proceeded to blockade the coast, as it seems to be a cardinal point of politics that no European, however wanting in tact, may ever be driven away by natives. After the blockade the German Government expedition, under Major Wissmann, prepared to bombard the coast towns.

When the troubles began, the Bishop was in England, but immediately the news reached him, he
The Bishop
leaves England
for Magila. hurried back to Zanzibar. At the Farewell Service, before leaving, he laid down clearly the duties of the Missionary to his flock in the hour of danger, and throughout the disturbances resolutely refused to withdraw the Mission, though pressed hard to do so.

Upon reaching Zanzibar, he at once hurried to the scene of the disturbances. In the Pangani river the steamer, in which the Bishop went, was repeatedly fired upon, and shortly after landing, the house where he was lodged, was surrounded by an excited mob. From this threatened danger he was saved by the courage of Bushiri, the insurgent Arab leader, who stood in the doorway and said that no one should enter unless they killed him first. Next morning, November 16, the Bishop, Susi, and others were conducted out of the town by an Arab escort, and proceeded to Mkuzi. From thence the five ladies (three being sisters of mercy), escorted by three members of the staff, were sent for safety to Zanzibar. To the rest he gave the choice to go or stay, and all remained. There was real danger, as the whole country was in a ferment, but the Bishop remained there, and it is touching amid peril to find them observing St. Andrew's Day as one of intercession for Foreign Missions, nearly 300 persons attending service.

Thus, "kept peaceful in the midst of strife," passed Christmas Day. The Mission records show only peaceful journeys, baptisms, confirmations, going on as if war were unknown; and when in January the Bishop made his way to the coast, by a circuitous route, taking ship at Vanga on the Umba, and being twice boarded by Germans on the way to Zanzibar, he said it was like passing from calm to storm.

This unhappy outlook soon changed for the better. The German Government took affairs from the hands of the Company into its own strong grasp, and its agents acted with such wisdom that the whole hill country was quieted.

When the Bishop paid a short visit again in March, Dr. Ley, to the sorrow of all, returned to the coast with him, being recalled to England by private affairs, and for a time there was no medical aid at Magila, the sad effects of which were soon seen.

During this short visit, the Bishop ordained the Rev. C. J. Sparks to the priesthood, being assisted by Archdeacon Goodyear and the Rev. H. Geldart. By the end of the year these three priests had passed to their rest.

Herbert Geldart was the first to go. From boyhood he had devoted himself to Church work; winning the confidence of street arabs in Shrewsbury in a way that helped him, when in 1879 he joined the Mission, to deal with the Kiungani lads. Writing at the end of 1880, the Bishop told how he

"had managed the whole of Kiungani, in its varied operations, alone during two or three months in the year, and now carries on the school with a freshness, effect, and vigour which never flags

End of the
Troubles.

March.
Departure of
Dr. Ley.

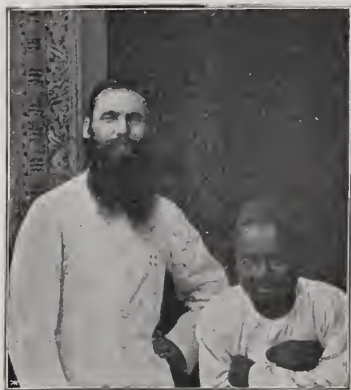
Ordination of
Rev. C. J.
Sparks,
March 17.

Deaths at
Magila.

except from mere illness. He has complete command of Swahili, knowing it thoroughly as spoken by the boys. . . . His sympathy and gentleness make him firm friends among the boys while he has firmness and strength to lead them."

He was on a visit to England, when, hearing how troubled was the Usambara district, he hurried out with the Bishop, who considered his presence most valuable, and he remained in charge of Mkuzi till what was called jaundice, but was in reality hæmaturic fever, attacked him ; and though well nursed by Mr. Mercer, he sank to rest, and was buried in Mkuzi churchyard amid sorrowing crowds of natives.

(1)
Of the Rev. H Geldart,
May 11. The same illness attacked Archdeacon Goodyear in June, shortly after he and Mr. Knowles, building superintendent, had visited Mkuzi to



ARCHDEACON GOODYEAR AND ROBERT FERUZI.

lay the foundation of the new church. As a pupil teacher, Henry Goodyear had years before given himself to mission work. Becoming a schoolmaster, he sought special training at St. Boniface, Warminster, and receiving deacon's Orders at the age of twenty-six, he sailed for Zanzibar in 1883, where his work lay till his visit home in 1887. How those, who

give themselves heart and soul to Mission work, develop

new faculties, may be seen from the remark of one who then saw the young priest: "I never saw so young a man so ripe a saint"; while the editor of a sporting paper recommended the Universities' Mission, because "it has among its staff so splendid a football player, and so genial



ZIWANI CEMETERY, ZANZIBAR.

a man, as Mr. Goodyear." Just before his death he wrote a pathetic appeal for helpers, because "Knowles is in bed—no doctor, no nurse." Alas! Mr. Knowles succumbed in the following September, but Archdeacon Goodyear preceded him into Eternal Life on St. John Baptist's day.

Sadly enough his funeral service was said by the Rev. C. J. Sparks, who was the next victim. He too was a recruit from our national schools.

(3)
Of the Rev.
C. J. Sparks,
Sept. 22.

But he was in business at Frome when his parish priest suggested missionary work to him. He drew back, thinking his education deficient, "and besides, I am only a working man." However, at Warminster and St. Augustine's the education difficulty was removed, as his brief but excellent work at Kiungani and in Usambara proved. To help his sick friend, Mr. Knowles, he pushed down to the coast before the road was quite clear, procured a dhow, and was twice fired at, but succeeded in reaching Zanzibar; then he returned, was himself taken with fever, and died after being carried to Zanzibar.

The losses of the district were completed by the Rev. F. Wallis being compelled to take his wife to England, only to lose her the next year. But Magila had one ray of comfort at the beginning of Advent, for the Sisters returned after a year in Zanzibar.

(Dec.)
The Sisters
return to
Magila.

After this, for a few years Magila was not so sorely tried. The Rev. James Salfey, after two years in England, returned to Magila, having received priest's Orders at Cuddesdon. He has since joined the Cowley Fathers' Mission at Capetown.

The Natives
begin to
work for
themselves.

The native side of the work was very cheering in 1890. Hearing how much workers were wanted, a Magila boy at Kiungani wrote to Mr. Woodward:

"When we received your letter saying how much work was to be done, we, of the second class, consulted together and resolved to prepare diligently for the work."

On the mainland, too, some villages built schools of their own accord, in hopes of having teachers sent to them.

We must speak of the work of the present staff, though they are not of those "whom praise cannot injure nor

The Rev. H. W.
Woodward.

blame hurt." "Don't call us heroes," one of them wrote; yet when all others were dying or invalided around him, when war and pestilence were crippling the work, Mr. Woodward had the great privilege of remaining well-nigh alone at his post; and strength was given him for his task. One of his Kiungani boys, going home for a holiday, was almost persuaded by his parents to desert Christianity. Mr. Woodward sent him this message: "He that loveth father or mother more than Me is not worthy of Me," and he returned to Kiungani.



REV. H. W. WOODWARD.

The Bishop came up for a time, and had a great happiness. Eight persons who had been censured, or excommunicated for gross sin, came and begged to be restored. Two of them received Absolution at once, and three more were to follow. At the same time the Sisters were able to write of nearly 200 girls in the schools of the district.

Jan. 11.
Absolutions.

By Ascension Day Mr. Woodward, after a holiday, was back at work, bringing with him Mr. Herbert Lister. The schools, though flourishing, had, as usual, to be closed while the crops ripened, while the boys went bird-scaring

and monkey-scaring. Mr. Woodward utilised the time by having the teachers as much with him as possible. Towards the end of the year these native teachers began a quarterly magazine in Bondei for the Usambara country, which was the third native magazine published by converts themselves. When Petro Limo was in England this year, some one said it was a waste of health and wealth to improve the Africans, who

A Native
"Quarterly"
in Usambara.



MAGILA QUADRANGLE.

(From a photograph by Dr. Palmer, 1894.)

were a fading race. With manners superior to those of the speaker, Petro replied, "Even if it were true that we are a dying race, we may at least claim the privilege of dying as Christians."

Of the year 1892 we need only say that Sister Frances, a new recruit, and most valuable as a nurse, had to be sent home in March, and that she died and was buried at sea. The sorrow was

Death of
Sister Frances,
April 8.

chequered by joy, as Dr. Ley, after three years in Pondo-land, returned to Magila. "If we had only had a doctor when our dear friends were ill!" had been the sorrow-stricken cry of Mr. Woodward.

Return of
Dr. Ley.

Passion Sunday, 1893, was a great day at Magila. The first of all the Bondei race to give himself to the sacred ministry — Petro Limo, related to the chief Kimweri—was made a deacon. Two bishops assisted, and it must have been an impressive service, with the stately, gracious presence of Bishop Smythies, and the frank, bright bearing of the Bishop of Nyasaland.

Petro Limo
made deacon
by Bishops
Smythies and
Hornby.
March 19.

In the middle of the year Mr. Woodward went to England, where he joined himself to the Society of the Sacred Mission, and did good work by his speech at the Conference of Missions.

And so comes round that sad and yet thankworthy era for each Mission centre — *the last visit of Bishop*

Bishop
Smythies'
last visit to
Magila.

Smythies. In its hours of darkest sorrow and bitterest trouble, Magila had turned to its Bishop, and never found him wanting. Had that truly apostolic man, with his "care of all the Churches," a favourite station? And was it Magila? The last Easter he spent on earth was spent there. On Passion Sunday he ordained



REV. PETRO LIMO.

Petro Limo to the Priesthood. Very touching it is to remember that this was Mr. Yorke's first convert. How must his thoughts have turned to that early and soon-lost teacher. All the priests in the district assisted—Mr. Griffin, Mr. Lawson, Mr. Chambers, and Mr. Dale. The last-named presented Petro, and noticed the absorbed look of the new-made priest.

Petro Limo
Ordained
Priest,
March 11.



WATERFALL AT MAGILA.
(From a photograph by Dr. Palmer.)

After this the Bishop worked hard—too hard, people said—but for himself it was as he wished.

“I have reason to be thankful for our Easter. A week ago we had a visitation of locusts. I hope they came too early to do much harm. It was some compensation that they are liked very much fried! I hear that there was a difficulty in getting what we call ‘kiteweo,’ or

Last Letter
from Magila.

'relish,' for the boys to eat with their porridge at Kologwe, and they have been content with fried locusts for a week.

"To return to our Easter. The Church was fairly full for the Three Hours' service on Good Friday, and I have never seen the people more attentive. Hardly any one went out the whole time, though we were three hours and a quarter in church. Now, as ever, it is the story of the Cross which rivets people's attention.

"On Easter Eve I ordained Mr. Gerrish deacon in the morning, in English, and we had our first Easter service at 5 p.m., at which seven men and youths and one woman were baptized.

"To-day the church seemed fairly full at Holy Communion, and 124 natives communicated—the largest number, I think, we have ever had.

“✠ C. A. SMYTHIES,
Bishop of Zanzibar.”

Something we shall have to say of his visits to the other stations, but now, just in the face of that great and terrible army which he still hoped might not come, Charles Alan Smythies passed away from beautiful Magila, leaving it beautiful and fruitful still; for never did his eyes behold the desolation which fell on that much-loved station, and never again, for blame or praise, did his people see the chief pastor, who had sorrowed with them in their manifold afflictions.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE USAMBARA GROUP OF MISSIONS.

*"While ye sit idle do ye think
The Lord's great work sits idle too?
That light dare not o'erleap the brink
Of morn, because 'tis dark with you?
Though yet your valleys skulk in night,
In God's ripe fields the day is cried;
And reapers, with their sickles bright,
Troop singing down the mountain side."*

—LOWELL.

IT was a pious custom in olden time to group together seven churches around some centre, in memory of the Seven Churches of Asia, and of Him who has in His right hand seven stars. Ireland, especially, owns such groups, "In Churches set like stars around some peaceful hermitage."

The Magila
Group of
Stations.

Such a group gradually grew up on African soil around Magila. More or less permanent, sometimes withdrawn, sometimes started afresh, here entirely abandoned, and there planted in other directions, yet grouped ever round Magila, we find such well-known names as Umba, Mkuzi, Misozwe, Msaraka, Kwa Kibai, besides a larger number of schools and sub-stations, so that in this region, more than in any others, the Church may be said to possess the land.

The story of these stations runs parallel with that of Magila.

The founding of Umba, and the work of the Rev. C. Yorke, have been given in chapter vii. In 1881 the station was entirely rebuilt, just outside the old town, and though the houses were still of sticks, plastered with mud, they were raised two storeys high, as it is healthier for the Europeans to sleep upstairs. The Rev. H. A. B. Wilson was in charge here, and the tremendous earnestness of his work resulted in the very unusual conversion of a chief over seventy; Semkali, the half-blind old chief of Umba, who was baptized by the name of Henry, and afterwards walked to Magila with a lame foot, to receive Confirmation during Bishop Smythies' first visit, bringing his wife with him, and showing the Bishop that they knew how to walk arm in arm, European fashion, having noticed a married missionary and his wife doing so. Some time after he had to be suspended from Communion for giving the tribal marks with heathen rites, but for this lapse he was truly penitent. It was Henry Semkali who introduced the fashion of ratifying deeds thus: "This is finished in the Name of Jesus Christ."

Umba, and the
Rev. H. A. B.
Wilson.

Conversion of
Henry Semkali.

Very soon after this conversion, the devoted deacon died. His last letters speak of what is well known to workers in a heathen land—the power of the evil one as a presence that can be felt.

"You who live in England don't know what it is. You recognise Christ's touch, you hear His voice. There is something in the atmosphere of England which shows at once that it is tinted with the sweet scent of our Saviour's presence. . . . But here we see Satan, with extraordinary power, causing Christ's sheep to fall down and worship *him*. I have seen signs of the devil's power here, such as I could never

Mr. Wilson on
devil worship.

have believed, had I not been an awe-struck witness, and wondered how Christ's Church in this land is ever to spread her wings far enough to cope with this evil. But I have found comfort in the words :—

“ Mid toil and tribulation,
And tumult of her war,
She *waits* her consummation
Of peace for evermore.”

His death,
Sept. 12. He died at Pangani, on the way down to Zanzibar, and his body was brought over by Mr. Wallis, and buried at Kiungani. One of his native boys wrote of him :—

“ We watched by his side and took all care of him ; we put flowers on his coffin, and every day I put flowers on his grave, and two of his little Umba boys, who loved him very much, they pray for his peace to Jesus, our Saviour. I am he who loved Mr. Wilson as his own life, and my grief is great.”

Archdeacon Farler wrote :—

“ I have lost the best, the truest, and most lovable fellow-worker that man could have. Dear Wilson is dead. What a loss to the Mission ! What an awful loss to Umba ! I have never felt a death more.”

It was Mr. Whitty first and then Mr. Geldart who stepped forward to fill up the blank. But by 1884 Mr. Geldart perceived that Umba was ceasing to be a good centre, the villages around being more or less “ dead ” (*i.e.* deserted).

A Testimony to
Truth. Yet so great was the perception of *truth* (a difficult virtue to an African) awakened in their minds, that Mr. Geldart overheard an Umba man affirm something “ by the truth of Mr. Farler,” adding, “ don’t you know that means perfect, honest, straightforward truth, because Mr. Farler never told us a lie.”

The third station, opened near Magila, was begun at the entreaty of the natives. There was a town in the midst of those Makumbe who had most bitterly opposed the building of the Magila Church.

Founding of
Mkuzi, Oct. 11.



MKUZI.

(From a sketch by Rev. G. M. Lawson.)

Its name was Mkuzi. Lying about ten miles from Magila on the road to Pangani, it is the great timber-producing district, and the centre of a hundred villages. Here the Rev. F. A. Wallis saw the chiefs, and marked out the site for a cottage. He took charge, and the next year a large house was begun, and the Mission boundary planted with cocoanut trees.

Mkuzi was often left entirely to John Swedi, who joined Mr. Wallis after the house was built; but Mr. Wallis was constantly there, and in two years' time had five converts ready to be catechumens, who were admitted on St. Bartholomew's Day, one of them, Semgogo, being a relation of the Christian chief of Uмба.

The first
catechumens,
Aug. 24.

Desultory war
between
Wadigo and
Bondei.

But the work was uphill indeed. One day a young native convert to Mohammedanism paid a friendly visit to Mr. Wallis, and in the course of conversation announced that he had taken a captive in "war." The "war" proved to be a brutal attack on a poor Digo woman, whom he murdered, and whose girl of twelve years old he secured and sold for forty-two dollars. Mr. Wallis convinced him of the sinfulness of his act, but the result was that the Wadigo made reprisals and attacked

Night attack
on Mkuzi (Dec.).

Mkuzi by night. Mr. Wallis' cook, Nguruwe, unfortunately went outside the Mission enclosure, which they respected, and fired; the Wadigo fled, leaving him with two arrows in him. When a piece of one was drawn out, he licked it, and crying out that it was poisoned, begged to be baptized. As he was one of the five catechumens, Mr. Wallis, supporting him with one hand, baptized him with the other; and in a few minutes he passed from all the confusion and noise consequent on a night attack, into the peace and light of Paradise,—almost the first fruits, for there had been one baptism there before this.

Mlinga, the
Spirit Mountain.

Nine miles north of Magila stands Mlinga, the spirit mountain, its bare, precipitous peaks rising above the woods of its lower slopes. It was veiled in mystery, for here, tradition said, dwelt spirit ancestors of the Wabondei. Hence they made known their will in dreams to their terrified descendants, calling on them to sacrifice a bullock, or to forbear certain rites or dances, till they were appeased. Worse still, if any rash mortal dared the ascent of Mlinga he disappeared from mortal sight, so deadly were the dangers of that fatal hill.

Close to the mountain stood Misozwe, in the Luale district, and here in 1881 Mr. Woodward interviewed the chief man, Semhando, and saying he had come in answer to many invitations, chose the hill Manundu for the station. But, though the field was "white to harvest," more than three years passed before a permanent settlement could be made—solely for want of means and workers.

First Site
at Misozwe
chosen,
March 7.

Building began at Easter, 1883, and permanent buildings were planned—a central square, with cloisters round, and church, school, houses, hall, etc.—but as yet only one house was built. From this time Misozwe was pretty regularly visited, chiefly by Mr. Woodward; but it was September, 1884, before Mr Whitty, a reader, took up his residence there.

(Easter)
Building
began.

On Bishop Smythies' first journey in the Bondé country, Mkuzi and Misozwe received their first episcopal visit. At Mkuzi the Chief asked to entertain them, and received them under some cocoa-nut trees. He was assisted by two of his twelve wives, who, with their women, served them standing, not presuming to sit down before their lords and masters. John Swedi gave the Bishop hints on native manners. First they washed their fingers, and then with them helped themselves to a little of the rice, which, with meat and gravy poured over it, formed the repast. John assured the Bishop he need only eat a little of it, and the Chief imitated this European dignity, but his sons and followers finished all off with great relish. At Misozwe the Chief asked what was the use of their coming if they went away again directly.

Bishop
Smythies' first
visit (Easter).

The Bishop's visit next year included an expedition to

First ascent
of Mlinga,
Jan. 28.

brave the spirits of Mlinga. They selected a market day, and, in the sight of the assembled people, the Bishop, with Mr. Woodward and four native boys, set forth at 6 a.m. and went up through the scrub, enjoying the lovely ferns and undergrowth, and, emerging on the bare precipices, ascended to the highest peak—3,500 feet high—and looked out over the mountainous country to the west, and the plain dotted with villages to the east. They planted a pole, tied a handkerchief to it, and then descended again—having taken just six hours about it—while the people gazed in wonder.

Other ascents.

After this the mountain was ascended several times. In June, Dr. Petrie and the Rev. J. C. Salfey cut two small trees and set them on the summit, in the form of a cross, as a sign that the God of the spirits of all flesh had taken possession of Mlinga.

Soon after, as Mr. Whitty and some boys were about to go up, eight Bondei asked leave to come too; and the same thing happened when Mr. Kerslake went up; for now the spell was broken, they experienced a sort of fearful pleasure in daring the ascent. Mr. Whitty even had tea on the top, and no vengeance had followed!

Mr. Woodward
comes to live
at Misoowe,
Jan. 15.

In 1886 the Rev. H. W. Woodward came to reside at Misoowe, and at once built the first church there. Its walls were of brick, with open clerestory, supported on posts, and temporary roof; an apsidal baptistery at the west, while a permanent chancel was begun at the east. It was used unfinished on Trinity Sunday, and for the first time the people brought first-fruits of Indian corn to offer in church, instead of leaving them to rot on the ground in honour of the spirits; whilst a man who wished to sacrifice a goat

to Mlinga, because the stakes driven in by the Christians hurt the spirit's head, was openly told to provide it himself, and not ask them. During an outbreak of small-pox, too, numbers gave up their charms and were vaccinated, and of these not one caught it. At Mkuzi as many as ninety-seven were vaccinated one day. Their names were taken, and the result carefully watched. A few developed the disease in a mild form after it, but none died.

There was a Christian wedding at Misozwe this year—the bride only just baptized, the bridegroom being a communicant. The day began with a celebration. At nine the bride arrived, and was received with a salute of guns. The first part of the service was open to all, in the outer part of the church, the last part at the chapel altar. Then for three long hours they sat on chairs receiving presents, with umbrellas (the African's idea of perfect honour and glory) held over their heads, while women danced and boys played around. They were *not* conducted to their house pick-a-back (Mr. Woodward stopped that), and they only went in backwards.

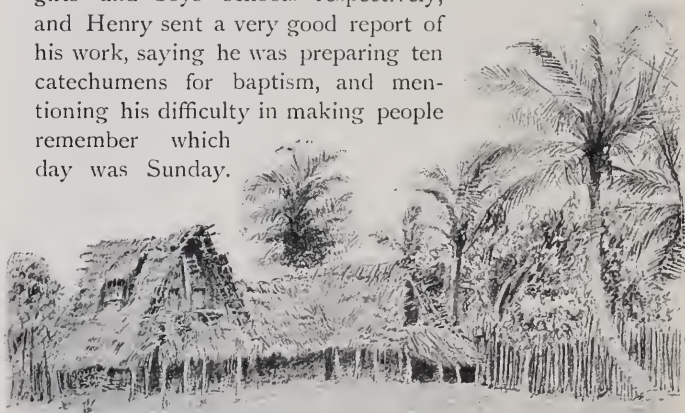
A Christian
wedding at
Misozwe,
Nov. 6.

The next important event was the dedication of Umba church, where an improvement on the system of free seats had been devised, in that there were no seats at all, except a few for old people; only matting or cocoa-nut leaves. The Bishop dedicated it in the name of St. John Baptist. Though Umba had not many villages near, yet it was a regular halting place for people on the way to and from the coast. At this time the Rev. J. C. Key was priest in charge; in 1889 he combined Msalaka with Umba. In 1890 we find Granville, a native reader, in charge of both

Dedication of
St. John Baptist's church
at Umba,
March 25.

stations ; nor has any European since resided there. The school, however, continued ; and it must be remembered that the two native Bondé priests were both Umba boys.

Work of Native teachers. The growth in the work of native teachers and evangelists is nowhere more remarkable than in this district. Henry Nasibu, and his wife Emma, were sent from Zanzibar to Misozwe to take charge of the girls' and boys' schools respectively, and Henry sent a very good report of his work, saying he was preparing ten catechumens for baptism, and mentioning his difficulty in making people remember which day was Sunday.



UMBA.

"Although the flag is put up every Saturday evening, some of them quite forget the day unless I go to them ; then they say, 'To-morrow is the day of God.'"

Mr. Salfey, writing in 1890, shows that the Mlinga superstition was not extinct :—

"As I write, Mlinga, the sacred mountain, faces me, and the light and shade upon its surface is truly charming. Between us

and Mlinga several villages are visible; at one of them lives the minister of Sekiteke, the chief of the evil spirits. He now and then gives forth that Sekiteke wants a bull, for which formerly the people were simple enough to subscribe. I need not say that the minister of Sekiteke got more of the bull than all the evil spirits together. . . . The latest mandates that Sekiteke has launched forth are that drum-beating at night is a cause of disturbance to his spiritship; that no dances are to be indulged in, or lights carried about at night. . . . May God soon deliver these dear people from their delusions about Sekiteke and all his clan."

So thoroughly did the supposed wishes of Sekiteke dominate the Wabondei, that on one occasion, when the Kafir corn was ripe, information was sent throughout the country that no one was to harvest his crop, or terrible consequences would follow. This order was very generally obeyed, acres of ripe corn being left to the monkeys and birds, or to rot on the land.

Turning to Mkuzi, we give a bit copied at random from its Record Books, during Mr. Wallis' absence. It shows the sort of journal kept constantly at all the stations :—

"November, 1889.

"21st Sunday after Trinity.

"Lawrence Kombo interpreted.

"A good congregation, although it was market-day here. Subject: 'Mohammed not the Child of Promise, but ISA MASIYA (Jesus).' Several people from a neighbouring village asked a good many questions about Mohammed, and some, who formerly said they were followers of Mohammed, said they would follow ISA MASIYA in future."

In June, 1887, Mr. Wallis brought his wife to Mkuzi. So diligent had been Mr. Irving's

A page from
Mkuzi
Records.

Rev. F. Wallis
at Mkuzi.

work that Mr. Gill had to begin burning bricks for a larger church, and Mr. Wallis also built himself a new house with a baraza upstairs and down, and for a year and a half the usual round of work went on—a work where all the difficult mission problems had to be faced. How to oppose child-murder; how to prevent people from



MKUZI CHURCH AND SCHOOL.

being carried off as alleged slaves; how to deal with those who resort to charms and magic. Verily the wisdom of Solomon is needed in those who occupy our mission stations; and if they sometimes fail in this (as when one young man went off from Magila, of his own accord, to try to make peace in war-

time—a mistake of judgment, but one of the bravest acts ever done in the Mission), who shall wonder? Mr. and Mrs. Wallis, however, made their mark, and were much missed when sent away at the time of the blockade in 1888.

Mr. Sparks succeeded to the care of Mkuzi, till he passed away, and after his death, the Rev. W. Mercer, a deacon; but in October, 1889, Mr. and Mrs. Wallis were able to return to what was now, owing to the deaths of so many workers, a heavy post; for Umba and Msalaka had both to be worked from Mkuzi. Alas! in a few weeks they were ordered to England on account of



NATIVE VILLAGE, MKUZI.

Mrs. Wallis' health, and never returned. The school was left in Henry Nasibu's hands, while John Swedi itinerated in the villages, and Lewis Bondo had a large school at Mwebali.

So well did all go on later at Mkuzi under the Rev. Godfrey Dale, and then under the Rev. J. E. Griffin, that the following report was able to be

Report of
Mkuzi 1892.

written, which may be mentally compared with that of a ten-year-old English parish :—

“Any one who has seen the house in the native village which was assigned to Mr. Wallis when he first came to live among the people, and then looks at the fine building which now stands a stone's throw away, will remember to pay a tribute to the workers who made such a station possible. The house in which Mr.



MKUZI CHURCH.
(From a photograph by Dr. Palmer.)

Wallis lived is now almost a ruin, but close at hand is a fine stone church and a large stone house for European residents. The new stone church, called the ‘church of the Resurrection,’ was designed by the Rev. W. M. Mercer, and built by natives under Mr. Allen’s direction, and is the admiration of all who behold it. It will contain from 250 to 300 people. It was opened in the summer of 1891, and has since then been the scene of a Christian wedding and Christian baptisms.

"Matins and Evensong are said every day, Evensong being fairly attended as a rule. On Sunday there is a Celebration at 7 a.m., to which only Christians come. The average attendance is from twenty-five to thirty. At 10 a.m. there is a Bondé service for Christians and catechumens, and another for heathen in the old church. The attendance at both services is from sixty to ninety. The Bondé service consists of three hymns, the Ten Commandments, a metrical Litany, a Lesson and an address. The boys' school generally averages from twenty to twenty-five, most being boarders. . . . A boy is considered to have made satisfactory progress when he can read and write in Swahili and Arabic characters, knows the elements of arithmetic, the geography of Africa, and has been firmly grounded in the Christian faith; but of course our great desire is to send them on to Kiungani, where they will be trained for the work of teachers and readers, and, in a few cases, for the higher work of the Ministry."

Msalaka (or Msaraka) has been mentioned several times. It is nearly three miles from Uмба, on the way to Magila. Being thought healthier than Uмба, the Mission dwellings were removed there, and the priest in charge was to spend Sundays at Uмба, and most of the week at Msalaka. When the Bishop came up to Magila, after the fire, he visited the new station to which Mr. Key was appointed.

Msalaka
begun, 1886.

In 1890 Sister Agnes wrote of riding to Msalaka for the girls' treat. No European could now be spared, but Granville often had a good congregation, and 173 came for the Harvest Thanksgiving; while Lewis Bondo had converted his old father, who was baptized on his deathbed.

Day, too, was breaking over the Zigua race, a finer people than the Bondé. Mdami, a powerful Zigua chief, sent messengers to Mr. Woodward at Magila, asking for friendship, chiefly

A Mission to
Zigualand.
Mdami's
message
(Nov.).

that he might secure a good trade route for his ivory. Mr. Woodward sent an expedition back under Dr. Castle, the result of which was that one little Zigua boy came to Magila for education, while Mr. Woodward began, in the light of his Swahili and Bondé studies, to pay attention to Kizigua. There was also a Zigua—Wilfrid Madudu—



RIVER LUVU AT KOLOGWE.

among the native teachers, whom the Bishop determined to send to Kologwe (or Korogwe), the station selected. It is on an island of the river Luvu. These large islands, caused by the parting of the stream, are thickly populated, the position giving their inhabitants a sense of safety.

The first Kologwe worker, Mr. Lister, arrived in Zanzi-

bar, February 20, 1891 ; he was in a few weeks sent to Magila. At once the Magila boys and he took to each other. “‘You are just from England, Bwana Herbert,’ said one. ‘Yes, I am.’ ‘Do you know my mother?’ I looked in his dear black face, and said, ‘Your mother?’ ‘Yes, my patron mother ; she loves me much, and I love her, and pray for her every night.’” Who shall say what blessing the prayers of these African children bring to the lives of those who adopt them !

Herbert
Lister.



KOLOGWE, THE FIRST MISSION HOUSE.

At last Mr. Woodward, Mr. Bone, and Mr. Lister, started for Kologwe, which they reached on the Feast of the Visitation, and pitching their tents on the hill of Fundi, began to build. But Mr. Bone falling ill, Mr. Woodward had to hurry him back, and for the rest of the year Mr. Lister held on alone, with two native teachers, one of whom, Wilfrid the Zigua, worked at Zavuza. So much was Wilfrid respected that he was soon able to prevent a father from murdering his son as a punishment.

Mission
planted at
Kologwe,
July 2

Mr. Lister pushed on into Zigualand, making friends

with the chiefs, especially with him who had first sent messages of peace, and thus at least preparing the way for others ; but, falling ill in Lent, he was invalided to Zanzibar and England, while Henry Nasibu carried on the work until the arrival of the Rev. P. R. H. Chambers. Henry worked so well that at Easter he took over four-
First Kologwe catechumens (Easter). teen boys to Magila, where Mr. Woodward admitted two as catechumens—Kidungwe, and his friend Mgaya. So earnest was their preparation that the Bishop shortened their probation as catechumens, and they were baptized in little more than a year, on Whitsun Eve.

“On Friday they did not go to school, but spent
Baptism of first Kologwe converts, May 20. the morning in devotion and instruction, and in the afternoon washed their clothes and shaved each other’s heads, in preparation for Holy Baptism. Saturday they fasted, and kept apart from the other boys till 3 p.m., when we began Evensong. . . . About one hundred came ; our little church was crowded. . . . After the second Lesson our procession started out of church, down the hill to the font, built in the ground with a light roof over it. . . . As the boys knelt to be baptized we all felt we were engaged in a wonderful work in bringing to our Lord the firstfruits of this land, where two years ago the name of Christ was utterly unknown. Then they changed their black dresses for chrisoms. . . . On Whit-Sunday the new Christians were present at the Holy Eucharist in their chrisoms. . . . The names the boys chose were Herbert Benjamin (Kidungwe) and Charles Mattayo (Mgaya).

How, in some of its aspects, the Christian life
The lesson of the Good Samaritan. is practised by the native teachers, we see from the story of a Masai, who chanced to be taken as a slave, and being too tired to hurry on the march, was cut and hacked, and left to die. When Henry Nasibu

found him, many natives were coming and going to look at him ; but he got bearers to carry him to a village, and, sending for the Magila doctor, tended him till, in spite of all his care, the poor savage died—an unconscious means of teaching Kologwe folk the lesson of the Good Samaritan.

In October the Bishop visited Kologwe, and preached to three hundred people, speaking very strongly against child murder, which was rampant among the Ziguas. Charms, too, abounded, and the people of one village on the Luengera, a river infested by crocodiles, made much money by selling charms to put in the river to keep them off. The missionaries built a bridge and so took away their trade. These charm-makers the Bishop compared to those who made silver shrines for Diana. But it seems certain the natives do know of special trees or herbs the crocodiles dislike, and they make the water safe for cattle to cross by infusing it with these leaves.

The Bishop
visits Kologwe
(Oct.).

It was a disappointment to find that Henry Nasibu was one of those persons who, though doing well at a crisis, or when alone, cannot work under others, and in December he resigned the work in which he had lost interest.

Henry Nasibu
resigns his
work (Dec.).

Some account must be given of the preaching tour this year, when the Bishop and Petro Limo set forth, as St. Paul and St. Luke of old, to travel up and down the land simply to obey the Divine word, "Preach the Gospel to every creature." They went forward in faith and hope to village after village, preaching the glad tidings to old and young.

The
Preaching Tour
(Oct. 2-16).

Leaving Mkuzi on October 2, they preached at Torondo, a village under Mohammedan influence ; thence to Jamvi,

a place full of Petro's relations. The Bishop always made a point of eating his fowl and porridge with his fingers, to break down the barrier between the races. The first night they slept on beds of fresh grass, in a baraza at Kwa Kibai, the largest Bondé village yet visited. The next morning they found that Kibai was an intelligent blacksmith as well as Chief, and promises passed of new tools when he should pay a visit to Magila.

Next day three or four more villages were visited, and as many on the third day; getting now among the more conical Zigua huts, and so making their way to Kologwe, as already told. The Bishop and his deacon now visited the river islands, and passed a German caravan carrying building materials to Mount Kilimanjaro, and so jour-

**The Bishop
at Vuga.**

neyed at last to Vuga, in the Shambala country (the true Usambara), the historical home of Kimweri, which is to them what Aix-la-Chapelle was to the German Emperors—the coronation city, the city of regal functions. Only here can a Kimweri lawfully marry his wife, and it was held that young Kinyassi could not claim the title till, on his marriage, he could enter Vuga. Kimweri received them with a feast, but next day said he was too rheumatic to see them any more, and they went on their mountain path to Misozwe—once picknicking with two German gentlemen, whom they casually found, and who must have been surprised to find in the dignified and gracious man in torn white cassock the missionary Bishop of Zanzibar. Finally they reached Misozwe in time for the Patronal Festival of St. Luke, and, reaching Magila soon after, had the happiness of finding Kibai come to ask for a teacher. At once the Bishop appointed Petro Limo to visit Kwa Kibai from Magila till he could

settle there, and this station was the first practical outcome of the tour.

It remains only to tell of the Bishop's last visits to the stations owning Magila as their mother.

A sad little story is connected with his last visit to Misozwe. A native reader, Martin Furahani, Martin
Furahani. with his wife Mildred, had been in charge of the Mission House, and, at her suggestion, had boarded ten girls, whom she brought up and mothered ; and she seems in every way to have been an admirable person. When the Bishop came up in Lent, 1893, for Petro's ordination to the diaconate, Martin went over to Magila, and stayed late for an address to teachers. Returning, he found Mildred very ill, and in two days she was at rest. Great sympathy was shown with poor Martin, and the Bishop himself took her funeral. After this Martin grew careless, and at length fell into grievous sin, but continued to communicate up to Christmas.

When the Bishop arrived at Misozwe, his visit was saddened by finding Martin without sign of repentance. Petro tried to move him ; but, Bishop
Smythies' last
visit at
Misozwe,
March 2. alas ! he had to be excommunicated. Even then he had no wish to leave the Mission, but had to be sent away by the German authorities. Two years have passed since then, and in *Central Africa* for July, 1896, we read that Bishop Richardson has been able to restore Martin to the peace of the Church, and that he is working at Mkuzi under his old friend, Petro Limo.

At Kwa Kibai the people were so delighted with their fellow-countryman, Petro Limo, that, Rev. Petro
Limo. hearing he would not settle there till his marriage, they consulted together, and determined to hasten the happy

day by bestowing on him the Chief's niece. He was obliged to tell them "he was engaged to another"; and, in fact, he has since married Blandina, one of the Mbweni teachers. There is a picture of Padre Petro and the first eight boys put under his care from Kwa Kibai, and in the thoughtful face of the African priest we see the impress on every feature, so purely African in form, of what the Christian life (and not merely civilisation) can make of the native races.

The sad drawback in this year was that regular services ceased in Umba Church, owing to the indifference of the few remaining people. The poor supply of water, and the proximity and raids of the Wadigo, had caused most of the people to remove elsewhere.

Mkuzi, on the other hand, had a happier record at Christmas. One of the converts, who had lapsed into Mohammedanism, now after three years returned and desired reconciliation.

Mohammedan
influence on
Christian con-
verts.

There is no doubt that the Mohammedans in the district more or less actively try to proselytize the Christian converts, and the simplest method is to say, "If you follow Islam, you might have another wife." They also hinder catechumens by telling them they will be *compelled* to eat forbidden food. A child at Capetown declined baptism for some time, on the ground that the Malays had told her that, when baptized, she would have to eat a *whole* pig; and one had unfortunately been brought into the Home in her sight!

As one reads the Record Books of the Bondé Missions, one can only wonder at the faith and patience which can work hopefully on in the face of such and so many disappointments.

CHAPTER XV.

TEN YEARS IN ZANZIBAR.

*"Darkness around them and above,
Desolate, with naught to love;
And through the gloom on every side
Strange dismal forms are dim descried;
Then the ever lifted cry,
Give us light, or we shall die,
Cometh to the Father's ears,
And He hearkens and He hears.*

* * * *

*'Tis Truth awaking in the soul;
Thy Righteousness to make them whole."*

—GEORGE MACDONALD.

"THE mail from England is signalled!" These joyful words, fully understood by those long absent from their native land, broke on longing ears in Zanzibar one Monday morning in 1884. At once every member of the Mission, except the ladies, poured down to the landing-place, for at last, after a year and a half of orphanhood, their Bishop was coming. Off they went in a steam-launch, to shake hands on board, and to bring Bishop Smythies to his new home.

Landing of
Bishop
Smythies,
Feb. 25.

The ladies meantime drew up the little boys and girls on the steps to greet the new comers. Miss Mills said her little boys thought it a new kind of Service, and some stood with clasped hands, and devoutly hushed up the others. Then up came the nine travellers, headed by the long-desired Bishop. With him came Archdeacon Farler and Mr. Bellingham, who were welcomed as old friends, while the new ones—scarcely less welcome—were the Rev. Duncan Travers, and Messrs. Herbert Allen, M. L. Irving, H. Kerslake, J. M. Lavender and William M. Mercer. After Evensong in Christ Church a solemn Te Deum was sung.

Such was the happy inauguration of an episcopate of which so much has already been told, that the wonder is there is anything left to say. But we

The Work
in the Island.

have heard little since chapter x. of the work on the Island of Zanzibar.

It may be well at this juncture to remind ourselves what they were at this date:—

Mkunazini. 1st, Mkunazini, under the shelter of Christ Church, on the edge of the Creek, so well known



THE OLD MISSION HOUSE AT MKUNAZINI.
(Demolished 1895.)

on the cover of *Central Africa*. Here stood the house which, after being headquarters of the Mission staff, has only recently been pulled down. Here also was Miss Mills' School of fifty-three little boys, from which was drawn the choir; a nursery of twenty infants under the care of Miss Bashford; and, living in houses close at hand,

about 150 Christians, mostly old adherents of the Mission, former pupils, and freed slaves. Later on here was built the Hospital and the Industrial Home.

2nd, Kiungani. The Home for the bigger boys, a mile and a half from the town. There were now eighty-six lads there, in charge of two clergy

Kiungani.



MISSIONARIES AND BOYS AT KIUNGANI.

Rev. H. Geldart, Rev. J. Key, Mr. Roberts, Mr. Madan, Mr. Whitty.

and three laymen. Here was the Mission Press and a large laundry, where the boys washed the clothes of the Mission Staff, with Miss Josephine Bartlett as housekeeper and general superintendent of laundry, cooking, etc.

3rd, Mbweni. The village for 250 adult freed slaves, mostly married and living in cottages, cultivating their gardens, and burning lime. Here

Mbweni.

it was that Miss Thackeray established her home for seventy girls, destined to become teachers and wives of



MBWENI.

Industrial
work.

The Bishop began to improve the industrial work, especially among the girls, twelve of Miss Thackeray's girls (who were unsuited for teachers) being put under Miss Allen's charge. In July arrived Miss Ruth Berkeley; she at once took charge, and it is her name, with her sister's, and later on Mrs. Key's, which are specially connected with this work.

Miss R. Berkeley and
the Industrial
girls.

When first the girls were handed over to Miss Berkeley, they were put on the roof of the schoolroom, where they lived and were taught cooking and work of all sorts. As any civilized method of cooking would probably set the roof on fire, the girls

Native
cookery.

cooked in a native arrangement of a box of sand, with three good-sized stones on the top, and the fire lighted between them, while a pot stands on the stones. But in spite of difficulties the girls did very well, having a great aptitude for cookery; and they can even dispense with the grandeur of the range described above. Quite little ones may be seen with a cocoanut as a cooking pot, and a few small fish they have caught, or vegetables from their own little gardens, cocoanut juice and a flavouring of capsicum and limes. The girls bake the native

teachers. The children of the married couples came as day scholars, the girls to Miss Thackeray, the smaller boys to a little school of their own, such elders as were suitable going to Kiungani.

Directly after his arrival,

bread daily,—small cakes of pounded rice, set to rise in the sun; treacle is then stirred in and the cakes fried in oil. They make other cakes of millet, also porridge and curry in endless variety. They do not learn European cookery, as that is done by men.

When the girls are old enough to think of marriage, they are allowed to receive visits from the boys on holidays, in the beautiful new wing built by Miss Thackeray in 1887. Of course the teachers also receive their friends. Then all sorts of native sweets and dainties are prepared, and the boys and girls feast together. Great are the hopes that the boys who are teachers will take the educated girls, who can help them in their work. But, alas! even under Mission supervision, the course of true love will not always run in prepared channels, and the teachers sometimes think a girl who has learnt industrial work will make a better wife; so care is taken to continue their studies that, if necessary, they may help their husbands a little, even if they cannot take schools. These girls now do the washing for the ladies; and their needlework, including embroidery, is often exquisite, owing to their clever, supple fingers. They also plait native mats of strips of palm leaves, dyed in colours. These mats are used as seats, curtains, and sheets for the living, and as palls to wrap the uncoffined dead.

Courtship
among
Mission
pupils.

Girls'
Needlework.

It may surprise English people to learn that the Mbweni girls also, many of them, do field work. But this is customary for African women; and after marriage, cooking being all got through in the early morning and late evening, and new cocoanut vessels and mud floor requiring hardly any attention, she would

Field work
done by Girls.

have an idle time of it. But with one baby slung on her back and another toddling beside her, a woman often works for hours in the Shamba, or even at road making and building work. Anything is better than idleness for them; but it is said that only two motives will make the African work continuously and not

Motives for
work.

by fits and starts; one is intense love for employer or teacher, and the other is the love of God.



BAOBAB TREE, MBWENI.

A three days' Synod was held in Christ Church, Zanzibar, in May, when the Bishop presided over eleven clergy and two laymen. Each day he celebrated at 7 a.m., at the high altar facing east, so that the clergy in their stalls in the apse were facing

First Synod
in Zanzibar,
May 5.

him. The Sessions began at 9.30, the Bishop occupying the throne behind the altar. On the first day the whole question of polygamy was dealt with, and though there was much debate and opposite views, the resolutions were passed *nemine contradicente*. It was decided, among other

things, to receive no more freed *adult* slaves from the Consulate.

Another resolution decided that a Theological College should be established for promising native pupils. Nothing could at first be done in this direction, but it was gradually determined to transform

A Theological College.



BOYS AT KIUNGANI.

Mr Roberts, Rev. D. Travers, Miss Bartlett, Rev. J. P. Farler, Rev. L. H. Frere.

Kiungani into such a college, eliminating more and more the industrial element, drafting the latter into town, where they could be (and already were occasionally) apprenticed to trades.

A set of studies was built out of the "Bishop Steere Memorial Fund" in 1887 for the theological students; and this year the examination

Theological studies at Kiungani.

passed by the lads was a really stiff one. When we think of the material from which the boys are drawn, we are amazed at their proficiency. Nicholas, one of the boys in the second class, was twelve years old; he had been born in a slave dhow, and till four years old was with his mother at Mkunazini, when they were sent to join the colony at Masasi; and thus, three years later, Nicholas was carried a second time into slavery by the Magwangwara, but ransomed by Mr. Porter, and at nine years old sent to Kiungani. Yet we find this lad answering correctly such questions as "How was Melchizedek a type of Christ?" "What do you think of Jael killing Sisera?" "How does our Lord teach us chastity, purity, humility?" Questions were put in Church history and doctrine, and he was expected to read and compose in Swahili and English, and he obtained nearly full marks in these two. There is good material at Kiungani, for Nicholas was a very average boy.

African education for African Clergy.

It is always better, if possible, to educate the native clergy in Africa than in England; and now that Kiungani is more entirely the theological college, few of them need come to England, where the good of their education is balanced by loss of touch with their own people, and by an acquired taste for luxuries not easily attainable and not desirable in a poor church. The result so far has been a small but worthy set of native clergy, and a large body of teachers.

First number of "Msimulizi" (October).

In October, 1888, the first number of the college magazine, edited and printed by boys themselves, came out. It was the first to appear of the three native magazines, and received the

name of *Msimulizi* or *The Reporter*, and was to be had for a farthing a number.

It was not only the boys whose education progressed so satisfactorily. In 1886, we find the Rev. H. H. Clarke examining Miss Thackeray's school and reporting well of papers on the authorship of

The education
of the Girls.



MBWENI.

the Epistle to the Hebrews, and on the Nicene Creed, as well as on general Scripture knowledge. The geography of European countries included some account of their history, and we find England, Germany, Holland, France, Switzerland, and Athens among the places so treated. Some will ask, "Of what use are these subjects to poor

African girls who will never have to teach any one but more ignorant Africans?" We answer, "Of what use are the same subjects to English girls, nine-tenths of whom never teach any one at all?" "That's quite different," is usually the conclusive and concluding answer to such an argument, for Africa-lovers know better than to answer a fool according to his folly.

When the new Industrial wing was opened in the Jubilee year, Archdeacon Hodgson and the girls decorated the place with Jubilee flags.

Opening of the
Industrial
Wing at
Mbweni,
Nov. 21.

The procession looked very picturesque, moving among the palm trees, headed by the beautiful cross given to Christ Church by a lady in memory of Gordon, and now first used. It was inscribed:—

"In memory of C. G. Gordon, R.E., C.B. Born, January 28, 1833. *Called into Egypt, there he bore his Master's Cross; defending the defenceless, he died at his post within Khartoum, January 26, 1885.*"

The Gordon
Cross.

After the Bishop came the industrial girls in blue dresses and scarves and red kofias—the school girls in red and white. Singing Swahili hymns, they passed into the house, where Psalm lxvii. was chanted, and sweetly these young cultivators of the ground sang of the time when the earth should bring forth her increase.

The new wing, which was most complete in every way, was Miss Thackeray's gift to the Mission.

Christian charity towards the sick has ever been a great means of drawing hearts to the Church, since the days when our Lord "laid His hands upon a few sick folk and healed them." We have seen this was the case on the mainland; and here in Zanzibar, the work went on as it

could. In this same year the Dispensary which Mrs. Halliday (Miss Bashford) had worked for was built.

The Jubilee festivities had been kept before at Kiungani, but in Zanzibar itself on July 9. There were many Hindi merchants, and these, of course, were subjects of the Empress of India. The whole town was like one garden. Loyal addresses were made in a tent blazing with silks and jewels.

Then at 4 p.m. was laid the Foundation stone of a new hospital, the gift of Tharia Thopan, a merchant, to the city. A golden trowel was used, and the stone laid to the music of the Sultan's band, lent for the occasion. In the evening thousands of people walked about looking at the magnificent illuminations and fireworks.

Foundation
stone of
hospital laid.



MISS THACKERAY.

Some of them asked if the English would "write and tell Victoria how nice it was." The grand finale was a game of football played by the Kiungani boys in smart blue and white caps given by a Hindi, with many thousands looking on.

And then some one did "tell Victoria," for her Majesty graciously accepted the copy of *Central Africa*, which contained the account.

Death of
Seyid
Barghash,
March 27.

In 1888 died the Sultan of Zanzibar. Seyid Barghash was born in 1835, being a younger son of Seyid bin Sultan, ruler of Muscat and Zanzibar. On the latter's death, the kingdoms being severed, Barghash claimed Zanzibar, and for this presumption was, on the accession of his elder brother Majid, exiled to India, with the result of a great widening of his mind ; so that when, in 1870, he succeeded his brother, he had laid up a store of wisdom, which made his eighteen years of rule a time of great progress for Zanzibar.

He showed great appreciation of English influence, and listened to our counsels, while he treated the Universities' Mission with uniform kindness. He accepted the inevitable gracefully, and from the time of the first treaty, restricting the slave trade, he kept loyally to its terms, though at a great loss of income. So good a financier was he, however, that he managed to die rich. Much depressed by his troubles with the Germans and Portuguese, he fell ill, and was taken to Muscat for the benefit of the voyage. Getting worse, he caused himself to be carried back to die in his own palace, which he did not actually reach alive.

Khalifa suc-
ceeds him.

He was peacefully succeeded by his next brother, Khalifa, a mild man, very friendly to England.

It must not be supposed, however, that Arab friendliness extends to permission to convert Mohammedans. Christians may have a right to their religion, but once a Mohammedan, always a Mohammedan, on pain of death is the rule, as the following story shows :—

There was an Arab gentleman, Abdullah bin Mahomet by name, who had been taught by Bishop Steere, and

as long as he was only an enquirer he might stand at the end of the Slave Market Church, and no notice was taken. But one day he uncovered his head, and knelt down among the Christians. The next day, the enlightened Seyid Barghash sent him to prison; and there for three and a half weary years

Abdullah
bin Mahomet's
history.



MOHAMMEDAN MOSQUE, ZANZIBAR.

he remained, scorning all offers of freedom at the cost of his religion. All his Christian friends could do for him was to supply him with food, and to receive letters from him declaring his full trust in Christ. Then he fell ill; and there, in the utter loneliness of a prison, with none to applaud or console him, he who had never tasted the

joys of Christianity among the faithful, and whose only privilege was to suffer for his Master, was content to die a captive.

Occasionally we have referred to Miss Mills' work among the little boys, whose home for so many years was at Mkunazini. Here the little slaves, when released, come, and here they stay, till old enough to go to Kiungani to be trained as teachers or to the



KILIMANI SCHOOL.

home for industrial work. Here the saddest stories are heard :—

“My new child,” she writes, “who looked quite fifty when he came, and was a mass of sores, does not look *more* than twenty now, so I hope in a year something childish may come out. He is an odd little morsel, but learns fast.”

In 1893 it was decided to begin building a new home

for the little boys, quite out of the town, near Mbweni. By the middle of 1894 this was ready, and Miss Mills and Miss Clutterbuck moved into it. Kilimani—"the House on the Hill"

Miss Mills' boys moved to Kilimani, June 24.

—has a much cooler climate than the town of Zanzibar, of which there is a lovely view from the windows. The boys felt at once the benefit of the change :—

"Some of them are such miserable, sickly little creatures," says Miss Mills. "Petro has arms and legs like knitting pins, and such a little pathetic old face; and Azub has no body to speak of, but such great swelled cheeks, like a balloon. Cypriani and Bernardo can scarcely walk, and are always ailing, and Willie has a very weak chest. . . . We do not go in for much schooling as yet, but do a lot of gardening, as the Shamba has to be got into order."

This motherly training of the little ones is among the best work of all done for the Good Shepherd; and what must motherly love be to those living in a town where a few years before a woman threw her own babe into a raging fire, to save herself.

The work among adults, living in homes of their own at Mbweni, is not often recorded in the Mission history. Perhaps it is more like a well-managed English parish, which is often happier in proportion as it has less history. Here in 1888 they lost the services of Archdeacon Hodgson and his wife. He had been the mainstay of the orphaned Church when Bishop Steere died, and was now the leading spirit at Mbweni. As he passed through the Suez Canal on his way home, he completed Bishop Steere's great work of the translation of the Bible into Swahili. With the exception of the Apocrypha, Zan-

Mbweni Village.

Departure of Archdeacon Hodgson, Nov. 20.

zibar now had a whole Bible in the vernacular. And for this, the name of Archdeacon Hodgson should be remembered, alongside with Bishop Steere's, among those who, from St. Jerome downwards have given to their flocks the Word of God in their own tongue. Like the Bishop, Archdeacon Hodgson left another tangible work behind him—the building of a church.

St. John's, Mbweni, is a handsome church, with an apse end, like most of the Mission churches, and a fine tower. Here, day by day, the people from the native plantation come to worship. The Archdeacon might be seen on a Saturday night fulfilling the rubric by writing down the names of all who desired to communicate next morning. One after another they would drop in—sometimes as many as sixty—so that each could have a word with his spiritual father. All came without constraint, quite of their own accord. On Christmas Day, 1889, there were 198 communicants.

In 1892 the Rev. J. K. Key and Mrs. Key (Miss Emily Woodward) took charge of Mbweni, and happily they have been able to continue their care ever since.

This part of the Mission work—the adult village—has long been self-supporting. How happy Bishop Mackenzie would have been could he have foreseen such a village, when he made a similar attempt at Magomero!

An adventure which befell Mr. Bone, a lay member of the Mission, and Cyprian, a catechumen, illustrates how near to peril is all this peaceful island work. On St. Andrew's Day, 1889, they went by water from Kiungani to Mbweni, but in trying to return were blown by the monsoon into the open sea, and

He completes
the translation of the
Bible,
Dec. 6.

St. John's
Church,
Mbweni.

Adventure of
Mr. Bone
and Cyprian,
Nov. 30.

they spent the night in sight of Kiungani, but afar off. On Saturday, struggling with wind and current, they could not make either the island or mainland, but on Sunday morning managed to get ashore, hungry and tired, south of Bagamoyo, on the mainland coast. Cyprian bravely tried to go first, lest Mr. Bone should be mistaken for a German and fired on, which actually happened, for this was



TEACHING CATECHUMENS AT MUXWORTHY'S SHAMBA, ZANZIBAR.

at the time of the German unpopularity. But Cyprian's cleverness and devotion, with the kindness of a Banyan merchant, saved him. The Banyan, however, packed them off in a larger boat, without waiting for food, for the Arabs were showing their knives. Meantime their friends, aided by the flagship's officers, had been searching for

them far and wide ; and it was a great relief when they walked into Kiungani at a quarter to six on Monday morning.

Anti-Slavery
decrees,
Sept. 13.

Since Sir Bartle Frere's visit, and the closing of the slave market, no more important measure had occurred than that now brought to pass by the tact and determination of Mr. (afterwards Sir) Gerald Portal, who persuaded Seyid Khalifa to publish a decree declaring all persons entering his dominions on and after November 1 legally free. A second decree declared all children born after the current year free.

These decrees, if faithfully carried out (which they are not), would mean the extinction of slavery in the next generation. The names of Sir Bartle Frere, Sir John Kirk, and Sir Gerald Portal will ever be held in remembrance among those who have used diplomacy for the noble object of freeing the slave.

Death of
Sultan Khalifa
and accession
of Ali,
Feb. 13.

Seyid Khalifa did not live long, however, dying in February—some said of sunstroke, some said the death was mysterious. His younger brother, Ali, who succeeded him peacefully, showed much favour to the Mission, which he visited on their anniversary.

Sultan Ali's
visit to
Klungani,
Aug. 30.

Plenty of amusement was provided for him. In the printing office he was asked to print off an Arabic address to himself, and in the yard the boys had set up a ship, chiefly made up of oil-cans and scaffolding, from which they let off twenty-one rockets in his honour ; but he disconcerted them by walking round the ship to examine its anatomy !

The Sultan had that month (August) put forth an anti-slavery edict, more trenchant than his predecessor's. Mr. Lecky declares the crusade against the slave trade to

be among the three or four perfectly virtuous acts of nations. Happy those who serve in this crusade!

For some years a Guild had existed at Kiungani among those boys who looked forward to Holy Orders. This, the Guild of St. Paul.



THEOLOGICAL STUDENTS, KIUNGANI.

With Mr. Gillanders, Mr. King, Archdeacon Jones-Bateman, Bishop Smythies, Rev. H. DuBoulay, and Mr. W. J. H. Chambers.

numbered, in 1890, a priest, deacon, and twenty members preparing for the sacred ministry; and in this year the Principal (Archdeacon Jones-Bateman) wrote to Archbishop Benson to tell him of this good work, and the Guild had the great encouragement of a letter from the Archbishop, dated from Lambeth on Palm Sunday, sending them his blessing.

Archbishop Benson's letter to St. Paul's Guild, Mar. 30. " . . . In Africa the prophecy is already fulfilled that Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands unto God. We pray Him to fulfil for all races the word of the prophet that in every place there shall be a pure spiritual Offering, and that from all nations He will take men to be Priests and Levites, the ministers of the Gospel. . . . You must never cease to be on your guard, never cease to be men of prayer ; and He will make you strong to overcome in the hour of temptation, and resolute to weed out every evil habit from among you."

The members of the Guild sent a reply to the Archbishop, signed by eight on behalf of the rest.

The Guild of the Good Shepherd. For the girls also there are Guilds. The Guild of the Good Shepherd for teachers, founded in 1885. There are only from twenty to thirty members, but these are the "salt of the earth." They have a retreat generally every year, and some of them arrive with their babies ; for there are married teachers as well as single in the Guild.

Guild of All Saints. The other Guild of All Saints began on All Saints' Day, 1887, and is for any, married or single, who are not teachers.

Record of former pupils. These Guilds will make it easier in after life to keep touch with the Mission pupils. But even before this, touch had been kept ; for in April, 1890, we have a record of all the boys who, from the first trembling group of five little unclad slaves in 1864, had passed through the Schools at Kiungani and Mkunazini. 272 baptized boys had thus been educated in the twenty-seven years. Five only had apostatized to Islam, which holds out stronger inducements to weak Christians than any other religion. Not one had returned to heathenism ;

seventeen could not be accounted for. Thirty-one, while resolutely refusing Islam, could hardly be called professing Christians. Two were in Holy Orders; thirty-two teachers and readers; about as many were master craftsmen; while the remainder (including two interpreters and four overseers) were porters, cultivators of land, or apprentices; two were in slavery; seventy-nine were dead.



KIUNGANI CHAPEL.

About this time Archdeacon Maples, staying at Kiungani, speaks of the wondrous change wrought in one generation on the untaught African.

Archdeacon
Maples visits
Kiungani,
July.

“And a miracle it is; for water was not more surely turned into wine at His word in Cana of old than, by the same trans-

forming word, new hearts and new lives have been given to scores of these African lads whom God has sent to us at Kiungani. It is almost too solemn a subject to trust oneself to speak of; but the recollection of those days at Kiungani—the solemn Eucharists so reverently offered; the class-room, where a score of eager hearers, it is no exaggeration to say, really seemed to hang on the lips of him who discoursed to them on the Epistles of St. Paul, these proofs and many others, which would tell of the reality of the warfare these lads strive to maintain against sin, the world, and the devil, as well as their zeal for God and for the extension of His kingdom, are sufficient to show that at last our best hopes are being realized, and the Mission is doing just the very work for which it was called into existence.”

The First
Industrial Ex-
hibition,
April 17.

This year, too, saw the first Industrial Exhibition held at Kiungani, boys and girls both exhibiting. Coloured mats adorned the walls, while patchwork quilts hung like flags from the ceiling. At one end were the mats and fishing nets. Several tables were covered with needlework, including really good church embroidery, done at Mbweni. There were also specimens of printing, hardware, a silver ring, teak boxes, made by the boys. Prizes were given, and the work sold. In the evening Mrs. (now Lady) Euan Smith, wife of the Consul-General, came to hear and give prizes for the singing.

Into the linguistic labours of Bishop Steere and Arch-deacon Hodgson a worthy successor had entered—Mr. Arthur C. Madan, who, having worked under both, now began his great work of revising the Bible, so as to make his new edition as perfect as possible.

Visit of
Bishop Tucker
(June).

The Mission received at this time the honour of a visit from Bishop Tucker, of Eastern Equatorial Africa, who, in the absence of the

Bishop of Zanzibar, held a Confirmation in Kiungani Chapel.

Not much has been said in these pages of the question of drunkenness among these Eastern Africans. The African in all ages has been much the same; and it is said Egyptian wall-paintings still show the slaves from Central Africa dancing and drinking at their *Pombé* bouts. Tembu or palm wine, the fermented juice of the cashew apple, and, in Uganda, plantain wine, have always been made, and indulged in to excess. The Arabs have not made things better. They are not publicly drunk, but many in Zanzibar are addicted to secret drinking; and anyway, their hold over the minds of the mainland tribes is not great enough to do away with drunkenness.

**Drunkenness
in Africa.**

The European trader, however, does worse—he increases the evil by his sale of spirits; and if Eastern Africa is not as depraved as Western or Southern Africa, it is because it has been less known. Long before its Protectorate, Germany led the van in this evil traffic. Where the British trader brought one gallon into Africa, the German brought twelve at least, though we truthfully own that of late years the Germans have done much to suppress the traffic. The American brought half as much again as the British trader; France and Portugal too did their parts. But the West coast was most accessible, and there the terrible traffic gained the most hold. Holland, too, had nearly destroyed the Hottentot races with gin before England set foot in the Cape Colony.

**Traffic in
spirits.**

On the East coast, though the Portuguese sell spirits cheaply along the sea-board, the African Lakes Trading Corporation steadily refused, and is at least free of the

blood of these tribes, not a glass of spirits having ever been sold by them *to natives* in the district from Quilimane to Tanganyika. Two independent traders tried to sell spirits in this region, but one of them perished horribly as he was drinking with a chief, for a demijohn of spirits took fire, and he was enveloped in the flames; the other quarrelled with the Makololo, and was slain by them.

At present, though there are spirit factories and even opium factories on the coast, where wages are paid in spirits, yet, thanks to Messrs. Moir, Messrs. Buchanan, and others, it is not carried far inland in any quantity.

Sultan's Edict
restraining
sale of spirits
to Natives,
March 2.

And we are glad to record that the Sultan of Zanzibar, acting through General Mathews, proclaimed that on and after March 2, 1892, all sale of spirituous liquors to natives should be prohibited within his dominions, and that all non-natives should only buy under special retail regulations. The time will, however, come when the natives will begin to ask why we forbid them what we do not always use in moderation ourselves. At present the Europeans in the country are few, and those are perforce temperate, or they die; but European newspapers reach these lands, and European examples are quoted by Africans.

If England has shown bad examples to these races, she has shown also the best and noblest, and the years 1891-92 were saddened by the loss of some of these.

Miss Mary Townshend, daughter of Major Townshend, of Wincham Hall, Cheshire, had long worked for others, when the loosening of all home ties in middle life set her free to join the staff of the U.M.C.A. in 1883. After some training as a nurse at Charing Cross Hospital, she went out, and for eight years did a quiet work in Africa, of which little record is kept:—

"She was in turn teacher, housekeeper, nurse, doctor, surgeon, spiritual guide, sacristan, secretary; whatever the work of the hour might be, she would always bring into it the brightness which springs up in a life given to God, and the sympathy and grace which were learnt in her Cheshire home."

And when she was called to "go home," there was peace and happiness. Like the saintly North Anglian chronicler of old, she asked her attendant to write down a memorandum of a few little things she wished given to one and another; and the last earthly glory she noticed was a lovely sunset. The natives loved her, and many of her great Kiungani lads cried like babies as they looked their last on her earthly form.

Death of Miss
Townshend,
June 13.

She was buried the same day at Ziواني, the Mission burying ground, which had already for seven years been the resting-place of the departed. There under the palm trees lie those who, though they may not be called martyrs, yet knew the martyr spirit, and are surely among those "meek souls" of whom it is said that

Ziواني.

"The rod they take so calm
Shall prove in Heaven a martyr's palm."

Next year Albert Beetham, a business man in Leeds, who literally "sold all that he had," and worked as Stores Superintendent and Treasurer of the Mission at Zanzibar, and had planned and built the Hospital, passed away on May 11.

Of Mr.
Beetham,
May 11.

A month later Miss Janet Emily Campbell was taken to rest. She had been drawn by love of God and His poor (under the influence of the All Saints' Sisters) to offer herself for training at University College Hospital, entering as a regular, though unpaid, nurse, and not as a lady pupil; and it is

Of Miss
Campbell,
June 6.

said that if ever a disagreeable piece of work had to be done, Nurse Emily Campbell was the one to do it. After some years, desiring a life of more complete self-surrender, she offered herself to the Universities' Mission, and sailed for Zanzibar with the Bishop in 1890. For a year and a half she worked devotedly, nursing the worst cases, till she literally sank under her work, and on Whit-Monday she too was laid to rest at Ziwani, her favourite hymn, "Art thou weary," being sung over her who had so often known weariness, and counted it all joy for Him Whom her soul loved. Without some record of such lives, history is like dry bones indeed.

The history of Miss Campbell brings to mind the history of the beginning of our Hospital work in Zanzibar.

The Dispensary, which had been at work since 1877, was now to be made much more useful by the building of a small hospital behind it. This was rendered necessary by the removal of the work of the German hospital to the mainland.

Founding
of the
hospital,
May 12.

The foundation stone was laid by the Bishop in May. They went in procession from the church to the site, and there, after the choirs had chanted the Psalm, "Except the Lord build the house," the stone was laid in the presence of the European congregation.

Opened
March 12.

In about two years the hospital so long wished for was finished, and opened on Midlent Sunday with a special service in the Cathedral, when many of the English sailors were present, with a large congregation. Bishop Smythies and Bishop Hornby, with all present, proceeded to the new hospital, where a Benediction on the wards was spoken.

The hopes of those who worked for it have truly been fulfilled by the three years of work accomplished already.

It has been nursed by volunteers from the ^{The Guild of St. Barnabas.} Guild of St. Barnabas, to which Miss Emily Campbell had belonged. This Guild unites hospital nurses in a rule of holy living, and the advantages of association



THE HOSPITAL OF THE UNIVERSITIES' MISSION, ZANZIBAR.

were now seen, when, one having fallen in the ranks, two more nurses from its ranks were ready to step into her place.

Associations in mission work were just now exercising many hearts, which, joined to the fact that mission work does not come by nature, but has to be learnt, resulted in the foundation of the ^{Order of the Sacred Mission (founded Jan., 1891).}

"Order of the Sacred Mission" in Vassall Road, Brixton. This had been done in January, 1891, mainly by the exertions of Bishop Corfe, of Corea. This order aims at training devout young men for work in Corea, Central Africa, or elsewhere. Thus we may hope that the faint-hearted will, to their own and the Mission's great advantage, faint before, instead of after, proceeding to the mission field, and that those who do go may be skilled as well as "well-intentioned" men.¹

The death of
Sultan Ali,
March 5.

In March, 1893, died the Sultan, Ali bin Said, who for three years had reigned over Zanzibar. One of his sons, Khalid Barghash, contrary to Arab custom, which does not often place the son on his father's throne, got in through a back door, barred the palace doors, and declared himself Sultan. Mr. Rodd, the Consul-General, however, backed up by General Mathews, President of the Ministry, and by bluejackets from the British cruisers *Philomel* and *Blanche*, summoned him to open the doors, which order he obeyed, and was promptly removed to his own house, and Hamed bin Thwain, a great-nephew of the late Sultan's, was placed on the throne. He too was friendly to the Mission, but this rapid succession of amiable but weak men has put an end to the vigour of the Zanzibar dynasty.

The Second
Synod of
Zanzibar,
June 30.

During this year Bishop Smythies gathered together his workers for conference in Zanzibar, in a meeting known as the second Synod of Zanzibar. First came the Usambara workers, including Petro Limo. Then the Rovuma group, headed by the

¹ See also Appendix II.

Bishop himself. A short retreat was first held, during which arrived Mr. Woodward, from Magila, and then, on June 30, the Bishop met and addressed thirteen priests and two deacons, several lay workers being present with leave to speak. In his address the Bishop spoke of certain changes he desired to make. Hitherto all working at Mkunazini, gentle and simple, men and women, had lived with a common table, etc. It was now proposed to establish a clergy-house, and to let the ladies have quarters at the hospital. He said also that he feared preaching had been rather undervalued among them, and he quoted the Bishop of Nassau's words: "A missionary can hardly preach too often if he has that to say which his neighbours, dying daily, need to hear before their race is run." Certain Acts, which will be found in Appendix IV., were then passed.

The Rev. F. R. Hodgson and Mr. A. C. Madan received the thanks of the Synod for their labour of love in revising the Swahili Old and New Testaments.

An instance of the paternal (?) character of domestic slavery among the Zanzibari may be given here. A new boy came to Kiungani partially paralysed, as the result of being tied up by his owner with dried grass soaked in paraffin oil round his wrists, which was then set alight. The burns were horrible, and the power of the left hand was gone. If it be said that in free England cases of cruelty are frequent, we reply that here it is against the moral sense of the multitude, and there it is not. If, however, real cruelty is proved in the Consular Court, the slave gets his freedom.

Domestic
Slavery in
Zanzibar.

Yet the native population needs to be aroused to

the heinousness of such doings by the preaching of Christianity ; and all these years it seems hardly credible that no regular Mission was established among the townspeople of Zanzibar. But those only who know not the inveterate hardness of the Mohammedan heart towards Christianity will be surprised. Dimly dreamt of by Bishop Tozer ; a small beginning actually made by Bishop Steere in that mud hut where he preached and disputed on Fridays ; Bishop Smythies now, at the close of his life, saw a clearer way towards a Mission centre of work in Ngambo, the suburb on the other side of the creek from Mkunazini. For some time a large mango tree had been used by various workers as a preaching station, and it had been in contemplation to fix Mr. and Mrs. Mercer here ; but eventually the Revs. A Town Mission for Zanzibar. C. R. Tyrwhitt and W. K. Firminger took up the work already initiated by the preaching tours of Yohanna Abdallah, amid a mixed population of some 30,000 Arabs and Swahilis. The house stood away from the main thoroughfare, so that inquirers could come quietly to hear of the Faith, like Nicodemus of old, for fear of the Arabs. No work needs more intense prayer from the Church at home than this among the Mohammedans.

This ten years' record will not be complete without the mention of Miss Shaw, who passed to her rest, in England, on October 9th.

“Like Miss Townshend, Miss Campbell, and Miss Bennett, Miss Shaw brought with her wherever she went true refinement and delicacy, the same unwearying energy and devotion to work. To be idle was the only thing which really seemed to cause her pain or discontent.

Like them, she was ready at a moment's notice to go anywhere and do anything. But her highest capacity and chief delight lay in her nursing, and what this was is best known to those who feel they have owed their lives largely to her unsleeping, indefatigable care, and skill, and judgment, her invincible cheerfulness, her mother-like tenderness. Nearly every member of the Mission must have passed under Miss Shaw's hands during the seven years she was attached to it, some several times, and that when the lack of a hospital made nursing even more arduous than it is now."

And thus again we reach the end of Bishop Smythies' episcopate.

Surely in these latter days we read the lesson of the transfiguration of human nature touched by the light of Faith, and Hope, and Love. The African has been brought to trust, where once all was suspicion; hope has been given him instead of fear and despair; and he has something to love instead of objects of hate. "Care makes wrinkles enough on our foreheads at home; what then is the impress which centuries of African bloodshed and insecurity are likely to have made on the human countenance? The face of the old chief is a scowl enclosed in a network of misery lines, and the mere child seems to have all the cares of his tribe upon him. But now when we scan a group of these converts, whose social surroundings are not materially altered, a distinct change is visible. 'You have ironed the wrinkles out of their faces,' was the comment made by a looker-on."

The Trans-
figuration of
human life.

And is it not a glorious work to prepare thus for the time when from those same faces not only wrinkles, but even tears, shall be wiped away?

CHAPTER XVI.

TWO CHIEF PASTORS.

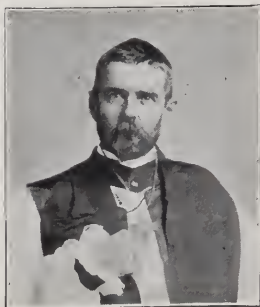
*Give me the Priest these graces shall possess,
Of an Ambassador the just address,
A Father's tenderness, a Shepherd's care,
A Leader's courage which the Cross can bear,
A Ruler's awe, a Watchman's wakeful eye,
A Pilot's skill the helm in storms to ply,
A Fisher's patience, and a Labourer's toil,
A Guide's dexterity to disembroil,
A Prophet's inspiration from above,
A Teacher's knowledge, and a Saviour's love.*

—BISHOP KEN.

The Succession
of Bishops.

THE succession of Bishops who have headed our Mission is one of the most remarkable in Church history.

The saintly hero who led the van, with that tender chivalry which has won so many "to follow in his train," is succeeded by the quiet, hard-working man, content with laying the hidden foundations, but bold enough to take the right course, regardless of opposition. He in his turn gives place to the accomplished scholar and linguist—the wise master-builder, the very man for reducing the East Coast lan-



BISHOP MAPLES.

(Photograph by Elliott & Fry.)

guage and for shaping the constitution of the Mission on lines of self-sacrifice and wise adaptation to native custom. Then just when, under his far-sighted rule, the mission field had widened, so that a man with unbroken bodily powers was needed, came the Statesman-Bishop—the great traveller, whose personal oversight did so much for the remote parts of his diocese, and who kept his head amid the rush of politics and the “scramble for Africa.” And when his work was done, with another Bishop at the extreme end of the territory, and the need for the longest of those journeys had ceased, he too passed away.

But if we seem to trace the purpose underlying this aspect of the work, what shall we say of that which is at once the oldest and the newest part of the Mission field? Towards Nyasa Mackenzie had set his face as a Promised Land he was never to enter; and when once more a Bishop was sent to the tribes dwelling around Nyasa, he did but come and see the land, and then he had to leave it. To him succeeded “the man seasoned and experienced and beautiful in character,” who was not even to reach once more his African home before he too passed away, leaving his staff to other hands. To this what can we say but that God shows us here “a part of His works,” and hides others?

It now remains to trace the personal history of Bishop Smythies and Bishop Maples, who have made so much African Church history, towards which they played such parts as did Archbishop Theodore, St. Wilfrid, and St. Felix, to the old English Church.

Charles Alan Smythies was born at Colchester on the Feast of the Transfiguration, 1844, his father being Curate of St. Mary-the-

*The Succession
in Nyasaland.*

Charles Alan
Smythies'
Birth, Aug. 6
1844.

Walls. His mother, early left a widow, married again, and it was in the Dorsetshire home of his stepfather, the Rev. G. Alston, at Studland, that he was brought up, learning that love of natural objects which crops up all through his life, though he was not, strictly speaking, learned in natural history. But his admiration of the beauty of river or mountain scenery, of the loveliness of flowers on an African hill-top, of the gracefulness of the flight of wild fowl at Tintagel, attest the powers of observation trained in boyhood. Educated at Felstead and Milton Abbas, and afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge, he pursued his theological studies at Cuddesdon. But he considered that he owed most of all to the Rev. Father Puller, under whom he worked many years at Vicar of Roath, Roath, till he succeeded him in the Vicarage.

1880.

Mention his name even now to a denizen of Roath, and one sees the extraordinary impress he left there as Curate and Vicar, where he gathered a devoted band of workers, clerical and lay, who caught from him the fire of enthusiasm. He turned the iron Mission Church into a beautiful building dedicated in the name of St. German; and it is no wonder that when, in the midst of all this life and work, he was offered the Central African Bishopric, he definitely declined it. But a year later, when implored to take the still vacant see, recognising the Divine call, he was not disobedient to it, much as it cost him to leave a parish to which he ever looked tenderly back. He took his life in his hands, saying it was much better to live nobly than to live long.

Accepts the
Central African
Bishopric.

Consecrated
Nov. 30, 1883.

His Consecration in St. Paul's Cathedral has been told. Canon King, in his sermon, re-

mind him that he owed his Orders to the great Bishop Wilberforce, and prayed—

“that the Spirit which moved his heart, and the heart of his great father before him, to burst the bonds of slavery, . . . may also guide and empower you to set them free from the still more terrible slavery of sin. . . . What does not European Christianity owe to Africa! Who can tell the fulness of the harvest reaped in Europe which St. Augustine sowed in Hippo? . . . As we in England, after a thousand years and more, have been supported in the Faith by the lives and writings of another people, sons of Africa, so the same truth brought back by you to Africa now may (through a native Church, a thousand years to come) hand on the Faith to other nations beside their own.”

When Bishop Smythies reached Zanzibar, one of the foremost men in the Mission was the Rev. Chauncy Maples, then at Newala. He was a younger man than the Bishop, being born in February, 1852, at Bound's Green, Middlesex. His mother had been a Miss Chauncy, and to her influence he said he owed all that was best in him. She, in her turn, had owed much to Mr. Bennett, of Frome (when at Portman Chapel). Educated under the Rev. Canon Huntingford, and then at Charterhouse, Mr. Maples passed to University College, Oxford, where he formed friendships that lasted his life. Oxford was very close to his heart, as may be seen from his charming little paper, “In Two Islands,”¹ with its description of the “wide fields of breezy grass through which the Cherwell wanders.”

While at Oxford, he heard Bishop Steere's touching appeal for men, to which he and his

The Rev.
Chauncy
Maples (born
Feb., 1852).

The Call.

¹ *Central Africa*, August, 1887.

friend, William Percival Johnson, responded. From twelve years old he had desired foreign mission work, and now the call had come. First came a period of work in Liverpool, and then Chauncy Maples was ordained deacon at Cuddesdon, and served as Curate to St. Mary Magdalene and St. George, Oxford, till he and his friend went to Zanzibar, within a few months of each other, and Bishop Steere ordained Mr. Maples priest and Mr. Johnson deacon on Michaelmas Day. Thus, when Bishop Smythies came to Zanzibar, these young men had already worked eight years in Africa.

Reaches
Zanzibar,
April.

What Bishop
Smythies
found.

Turn we now to Bishop Smythies' own work, much of which has been told. First, be it remembered that when he arrived he found, besides the Zanzibar work, on the mainland the stations of Magila, Umba, and Mkuzi, in the Usambara country; in the Rovuma district, Newala, with small stations at Lindi and Mtua; Masasi being well-nigh abandoned. One solitary missionary peregrinated round Nyasa, where no permanent station or mission steamer existed. The European staff for the whole mission numbered thirty-four, aided by a dozen natives.

Four years
after.

In four years' time Bishop Smythies came home for the Lambeth Conference, having nearly doubled his staff of workers and planted a settled mission on Nyasa, having visited his whole diocese thrice, and parts of it five times. It is said that even Livingstone had never in any four years of his life covered more ground.

Loss of
strength.

Before another four years he began to show signs of wear and tear. Writing from Likoma in August, 1891, he says he does not know how he got there, with a bad sore on his leg, and only porters and a

donkey with him. "A year or two ago I should have thought nothing of it; now all the strength seems to have gone out of me." And this is the utmost plaint ever heard from a man who peculiarly needed little attentions, being not over skilful at managing for himself, and who, moreover, dearly loved companionship; yet he had come 450 miles in pain and discomfort, riding and walking incessantly, to do his duty to one part of his diocese.

This journey left its marks on him, and when he came to England next year, all were shocked at his altered looks. When he appeared on the platform at the anniversary meeting, supported by Bishop Selwyn, on a crutch, "It was," as the latter humorously remarked, "not a case of the blind leading the blind, but of the lame supporting the lame." There was one moment of breathless silence, as people took in the havoc overwork had wrought in that strong frame, and then a tremendous burst of cheering, which was renewed when the chairman (the Bishop of St. Albans), pointing to the two Bishops, said :—

The
Anniversary,
June 2.

"You see there a soldier who has come home from a great campaign, bearing the marks of that campaign in his face. . . . I may venture to apply to Bishop Smythies and Bishop Selwyn some of the words which St. Paul uses of himself, . . . 'bearing in his body the marks (or brands) of the Lord Jesus.' May we not say that they bear these marks—in our eyes very honourable marks?"

On this occasion Dr. Laws, of the Scotch Mission, who had so often doctored the members of our Mission, was present. He spoke of the unhealthiness of the land where their lot was cast, but added that Christ's command was clear, "Go ye into all the

Dr. Laws'
Speech.

world," and that none had a right to add, "provided you can live comfortably." But he added that, if they wished for a heavy death-roll, they would send out few men and women; *nothing more than overworking mission agents filled the graves in Africa.* He had often nursed the members of the Universities' Mission as they went down into the Valley of the Shadow of Death, and had never heard a murmur, but rather thankfulness. Strongly he spoke, too, against demanding statistics of progress. The Gospel of Christ had been a leaven altering the whole face of the country; and they had no right to say, "Here is the money; where are the baptisms?" Was there any New Testament authority for providing converts at £2 10s. a head?

It was the enthusiasm roused at this meeting which laid the foundation of the Nyasaland Bishopric; and the Bishop travelled up and down the length and breadth of England, till, in six months, the £11,000 needed for the endowment was collected.

In the Folkestone Church Congress he made the speech of an expert on the methods of mission work,¹ giving one telling anecdote against missionaries degenerating into large landholders. Being in Usambara, Bishop Smythies was asked to visit a chief who threatened that country.

"I went to the fort in which he was . . . Among the questions that the chief asked me was how much land we had acquired in that country, and what possessions we had there. And I was glad to be able to answer him: 'We have one little shamba, which was granted to us by your grandfather, Kimweri,' who was the former king of the country."

¹ See Appendix II.

Speaking of the danger of the missionary becoming a chief and assuming rule over his flock, he said :—

“Every missionary has clearly to discern between the two powers which God has placed in the world—that which we call the power of the keys, and the power of the sword.”

If Bishop Smythies refused to wield the sword of justice and the sword of warfare, it was not for lack of ability ; and through all the troubles between Germans and natives, when a very little would have set the Germans against the English missionaries, whom they found exercising a great—if purely spiritual—power in their Protectorate, his tact prevented a collision, while his grasp of the situation caused his advice to be sought on all sides. He acted on the principle that “Missionaries of the Catholic Church, whatever other persons might do, when they had once settled in a country and gained the love of its people, would never abandon it.”

We find Archbishop Benson, in 1890, speaking at the S.P.G. annual meeting thus :—

“We sometimes wish we could have but one minute’s glimpse of the men who were the makers of England and the makers of Europe. . . . It impresses me that Bishop Smythies has a part in the history of his own times. It will impress posterity more when they look back upon the unsupported Englishman who told the statesmen of his time that move he would not. It was easy to make himself and his missionaries safe, but what should he do to the sheep that he had brought out of the wilderness?”

The Bishop as
a Statesman.

Next we find the Bishop interviewed by a representative of the *Pall Mall Gazette* as to his views of the European international relations in Africa ; and then, as ever, he

spoke warmly of the kindness of the Germans to the missionaries.

Interview at
Berlin with
Chancellor,
Oct. 27.

Lastly, we hear of him at Berlin, holding a private conference with the Chancellor of the German Empire, who was most anxious to discover to what party he belonged, and was quite satisfied on hearing he belonged "to that large organization which we call the Church of England." In no sense did the Bishop ask for protection. Lord Salisbury had secured that for all citizens of the British Empire. At a reception in the evening he was presented to the Emperor and Empress, to the King of the Belgians, and Duke of Connaught. The Emperor said to him: "The Mohammedan religion is a very simple one, and takes great hold on those who profess it. Surely, in the face of it, there is great necessity for Christian missionaries to act unitedly." The same idea was expressed by the Bishop in his farewell sermon, when he said that if we persist in regarding, *e.g.*, a Roman Catholic missionary as just the same as a heathen, it is impossible to avoid feuds in the face of the heathen; but if we consider that the truth we mutually hold is far more important than the fringe of differences which separate us, all difficulty would vanish.

This seems the right place to remark that by the final adjustment of "Spheres of Influence" the Universities' Mission stations are all left in the German Protectorate, except those on the island of Zanzibar, the islands of Likoma and Chisumulu, and Kota-Kota, and the stations at the southern end of Nyasa, which are British; and Chites's, and most of our East Nyasa Stations and Unangu, which are Portuguese.

Of the work of the next year and a half we have

spoken before, and now the great Bishop was to be taken away from the work to which he seemed so necessary.

Returning from that last Easter at Magila, the Bishop tried, as usual, to work hard at classes, addresses, and Swahili revisions; but weariness became invincible. He had to give up taking a retreat and a quiet day, but on Sunday, April 8, he celebrated at Kiungani, and preached there and at the Cathedral English Even-song. In Zanzibar.

Two days later he delivered his latest address. It was to the Nurses' Guild. On the 14th he broke down with fever, and the next day was carried into Mkunazini Hospital, where Miss Breay and her nurses had the privilege of ministering to him for three weeks, through days of utter weariness and nights of sleeplessness. Grateful and courteous for every little attention, he had a great fear of being impatient; but the utmost he said was, "If only God of His great mercy will grant me some rest." His nurses believed that he never failed to say his daily Office. But he grew worse rather than better, and it was arranged that he should start on May 4, by the French mail, accompanied by the Rev. Duncan Travers and Nurse Brewerton. Last days.

Just before starting, he sent for two of his Kiungani boys, Daudi Machina and Yohanna Abdallah, to say farewell. The former describes the scene: Farewells.

"The last words that he said were, 'I am going to England to get well, but I hope God will grant me to return quickly'; and when he had finished these words we knelt down, and he laid his hands upon us for the last time, and blessed us, and said, 'God bless you, my children, in all your work'; and we thanked him; and when he had finished, I closed the door, and we went back to



NURSE BREWERTON, WITH HOSPITAL SERVANTS.

*Four of whom were liberated in one day on the ground of abandonment
when ill by owners.*

Kiungani. This was the last time that I saw him on earth, but that blessing that he left us, and those last words of his, I can

never forget all my life, for they were as a very great gift beyond all price."

Both these young men are now deacons.

The Bishop was carried down to the French packet, and felt exhausted by the farewells on board, but none thought the end was near. On Sunday, the 6th, the little English party said matins and evensong together, the Bishop being just able to give the absolution—his last earthly ministry. They moved him to a deck cabin for more air, but that night the watchers gave up hope, and at 6.30 in the morning Mr. Travers made ready for the last Communion. The Bishop was half unconscious, but at the words, "Bishop, the Blessed Sacrament," he looked up with a sweet smile. Three hours later his spirit passed to that rest for which he had so earnestly prayed.

Death of the
Bishop,
May 7.

The same evening his body was committed to the deep, Mr. Travers reading the English Burial Office. The French sailors who bore him to the stern had placed a Union Jack over him.

Funeral
at Sea.

It was a lovely evening, and the ship was held on and off on a calm sea. The sun had just set, and the new moon hung in the west, setting slowly; and at the words, "we therefore commit his body to the deep, to be turned into corruption, looking for the resurrection of the body, when the sea shall give up her dead," the sailors lowered their burden into that greatest and purest of all cemeteries, where he rests somewhere among the coral rocks of the Indian Ocean; holier to us for the sacred charge it has received, as the martyred Patteson hallows the waters of the Pacific. The spot was half-way between Zanzibar and Aden, 500 miles south of Guardafui.

Character of
Bishop
Smythies.

The character of such a man should only be sketched by those who knew and watched him, and what follows is in the words of such watchers.

"I set first that which first impressed all who saw him—the quiet, unassuming nobleness of the Bishop's presence. His voice fulfilled the promise of his presence. It took the ear at once, and held it by its delicate quality of genial friendliness, its frankness, its fulness, which seemed to envelop you as a pleasant air."

"The mere thought of him—still more the sight—was an inspiration. Whenever I picture his grand personality, the word 'apostolic' always comes to my mind."

"It is rumoured that his strength of character, and undeviating, uncompromising singleness of purpose, made itself felt at times in some severity to those who worked under him."

"And he used to tell us our faults too, straight, and it didn't hurt us from him."

"He quite won my heart, when he first came out, by his fatherly kindness, his unvarying courtesy, his simplicity, and utter absence of self-importance, though he was every inch a Bishop."

"'A man of God and a man of men,' one has well said of him."

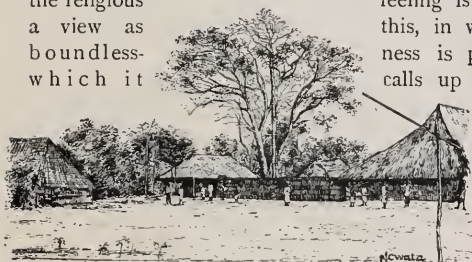
Bishop Maples' earlier work. Turning now to Chauncy Maples, we notice first his great powers of heart and intellect. He could not write a description of a mission station in an ordinary way. In his hand it becomes a polished essay, full of brightness, with allusions to all manner of interests.

Wherever he was, he easily learnt the language, and his linguistic work in Makua, Yao, and Chinyanja is very valuable. While at Masasi we have graphic descriptions of the village and notes on Makua customs. His series of "Newala Papers" would make a graceful book. With

something more than a superficial acquaintance, he sketches the flora, animals, and birds of Newala; the school, the village schoolmaster, "Our Christian village," the villagers, and "Witchcraft in Newala." All these are painted with the practised manner of one who might have made literature his vocation.

Here is a delicious bit on the view from his Newala home.

"Those who have found by a glad experience what wealth to the religious a view as boundless- which it



NEWALA.

feeling is brought by such this, in which the idea of ness is pre-eminently that calls up in the mind and the imagination, will realize what an immense gain and what a real possession we have thus secured in settling on the Newala hills. Certainly we, whose lot it is to live almost alone . . . are not unmindful that this lasting joy is given by God Himself, to be to us an especial boon and solace."

His method of directing others was *to work with them*. Thus when superintending printing, building, or cookery he would lend a hand and do the work with skill.

He was well read in theology, and had a great aptitude for natural science and for music.

Canon Scott Holland, speaking after his death, described Chauncy Maples at Oxford as one of those delightful young fellows, who may remain much the same to the end; but accepted responsibility, and grace responded to,

made him what he was. He said he remembered driving with Bishop Maples' father to a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, where the son was to read a paper.

"I remember his father, with all the candour of a father, expressing his surprise at all the powers that were coming out in his son, at which the world was astonished. 'We never thought there was this in Chauncy,' he said."

He had worked at Likoma in conjunction with Mr. Johnson ever since 1886, with the title of Archdeacon; and when, soon after Bishop Smythies' death, Bishop Hornby



BUILDING AT LIKOMA.

was compelled to resign, the two dioceses were vacant together. But Bishop Hornby had brought back word who *must* be bishop on Lake Nyasa.

"There was only one man in all the earth of whom it could be said to be right that he should be put as Bishop and lord over that heroic friend of his, Johnson, and that man was Chauncy Maples."

Offered the
Nyasaland
Bishopric
(Aug.)

But the offer, at once made to him by the Archbishop of Canterbury, would have been declined, had not his lifelong friend, Mr. Johnson, persuaded him to take advice before deciding, and

he arrived in England in the spring of 1895 and in the April number of *Central Africa*, it was announced that he had accepted the office, with the title Bishop of Likoma.

The first
Bishop of
Likoma (second
of Nyasaland).



BISHOP HORNBY AND ARCHDEACON MAPLES AT LIKOMA.

At the anniversary he preached on Philippians iii. 13, 14, and it is curious to notice how "pressing towards the mark"—pressing forward—seemed the dominant idea of his life.

Bishop Maples received consecration on St. Peter's Day—a memorable occasion, for with him were consecrated Canon Awdry as Suffra-

Consecration
of the Bishops
of Zanzibar
and Likoma,
June 29.

gan Bishop of Southampton; the Rev. William Moore Richardson for Zanzibar; Bishop Dart for New Westminster; and Bishop Anderson for Riverina. As a few months later Bishop Awdry exchanged into the new diocese of Osaka, Japan, all five were ultimately missionary Bishops. This last great function of Bishop Maples' life was a grand and soul-stirring one, from the moment when to the soft, exquisite singing of St. Paul's Cathedral choir, that stately procession moved up the nave, with the cross of Canterbury and the staff of London gleaming over all.

The sermon by the Rev. Canon Jacob, so soon to become Bishop of Newcastle, was grandly suggestive on the words, "Heir of all things."

"And to-day the Universities' Mission to Central Africa presents for consecration, as the heirs of the saintly, statesmanlike Charles Alan Smythies, of that great linguist, philosopher, and missionary, Edward Steere, and of that true-hearted, faithful, pioneer servant of God, Mackenzie, whose bones lie near the Zambesi river, not one Bishop but two, to develop a work which has now enlisted the services of 82 Europeans and 109 African workers. Heirs, my brethren, of such men as these, you will yet remember that you represent the Heir of all things. To one of you the difficulties and blessings are known, and you bring to Likoma and Nyasaland the experience of a trained missionary."

Among those who assisted the Archbishop in the laying on of hands were the Bishop of St. Alban's (Chairman of the Universities' Mission), with the Bishops of London, Peterborough, Guildford, Southwark, Stepney, Thetford, and Bishop Hornby. Before the Central African Bishops left the Cathedral they bestowed their benediction on a little band of workers who presented themselves for it.

The farewell to England did not tarry. It was spoken at St. John's, Red Lion Square, when Bishop Maples asked his friends to pray that he might have the gift of patience, adding simply that irritability was a great snare to dwellers in Africa.

Farewell Service,
July 11.

And so he started on his last journey, intending to go overland by the Rovuma route. At Zanzibar he picked up Mr. Joseph Williams, and, being

The last
journey.



BOATS ON THE RIVER SHIRÉ.

unable to get porters on account of native quarrels, he decided to go *via* the Zambesi, thus retracing the steps of the first Bishop, though entering it by the Chinde mouth. Here, curbing his intense desire to "press forward," he tarried several days, some fifteen or sixteen English residents wishing for services.

There he spent the 9th Sunday after Trinity, receiving a memorial from the few Englishmen, promising to do all in their power to support a

Sunday at
Chinde,
Aug. 11.

clergyman, if he would send them one, which he promised to do at the first opportunity, so as to minister not only to them, but to the crews of gunboats cruising in those waters, and to travellers passing backwards and forwards on the river route.

The river journey to Chiromo, at the junction of the Shiré and Ruo was trying, and here the Bishop preferred to walk to Blantyre, the Scotch Mission Station, through the fine coffee plantations. Here he spent three days, including Sunday, when he celebrated early, in the house of the "African Lakes' Corporation." And afterwards, at the request of Mr. Hetherwick, the Scotch minister, he took morning service in his church. Conversation turning on the deaths of some Anglo-Africans, the Bishop said to his companion, "Well, Williams, we have been in Africa nearly twenty years; we cannot expect to live very much longer out here."

Sunday at
Blantyre,
Aug. 25.

Thence he went on to Mount Zomba to see the Commissioner, with whom he had a long talk, and here he heard much about Kota Kota, a new station he had started on the lakes' western bank, where he meant to go at once.

At Fort
Johnstone,
Sept. 1.

On the 28th he again embarked on board the *Livingstone* at Matope, and by September 1 had reached Fort Johnston, just where the Shiré leaves Nyasa. Here he received letters saying how everybody was waiting to have his advice before progressing with their work, and most anxious he felt to be once more among his flock, deeming it fortunate that these letters came by the *Sheriff*, the little steel Mission sailing boat.

"We arrived here at 4.30 p.m., and by an extraordinary piece of good luck, only four hours afterwards, in came the *Sheriff* from Likoma, with letters dated thence on August 26th. The

boat has made a good passage, and now we shall be able to start away to-morrow evening ; and I daresay I shall be at Kota Kota in four or five days' time, and thence on to Likoma by about the 10th or 12th of the month."



THE "GEORGE SHERRIFF" SAILING BOAT.

So he signed his death warrant !

On Monday he embarked in the *Sherriff*, with his packages, including the sacred vessels which had been so useful on the journey. The

Sails in
the *Sherriff*,
Sept. 2.

English gunboats were lying in the bay, and they saluted each other—the *Sherriff* sailing to Nkopi, where she took in food. After supper the Bishop said prayers, and then a storm began to blow so severely that, after passing Monkey Bay, Ibrahim, native skipper of the *Sherriff*, said they must run for shelter to the east coast. But Kota Kota was on the west, and the Bishop said, "Go on." He thought of Mr. Sim wanting him there, and others waiting at Likoma. 11.30 passed—Mr. Williams was asleep in a grass hut in the stern sheets; the Bishop, in his black cassock, was still up, and directing the sailors to look out for rocks. The mainsail was reefed, and they were sailing under the fore and mizzen. Suddenly the little boat "broached to," and, the waves rushing over her, all were in the water. "Where is the Bishop?" called out the boys. Then Ibrahim and Isaiah, faithful to the last, pushed two boxes together, and put him on, pushing him as they swam. He was a good swimmer, but his cassock hindered him. At last a great wave coming over them, and the boxes beginning to fill, he said quietly to the "boys," "You must not die for me; if you are spared, tell Mr. Johnson that I am dead." Just that!—in the supreme moment, Christ-like, there is a thought for his fellow-sufferers, and a message to the faithful friend and fellow-worker. "Then the water choked him, and he sank," said Ibrahim, who waited near the spot a long time, but saw him no more. In two hours the natives managed to reach an island four miles off, close to Rifu—a fort manned by Sikhs—and there they made their report. Some days later they carried the news to Kota Kota, where rumours of the terrible tidings of two white men

The Storm on
the Lake.

Death of
Bishop Maples,
Sept. 2.

drowned in the lake had reached Mr. Sim. He significantly wrote, "The Bishop and Mr. Williams are coming *overland*," hoping against hope that it was not these two. But on the 13th Ibrahim and the crew reached Kota Kota, and reported to the B. C. A. officer, Mr. Swann, who mourned as for a brother, and sent to tell Mr. Sim, and helped him to send out search parties, with the result that one under William Kanyopolea found

The Bishop's
body found.



THE GRAVE OF BISHOP MAPLES AT KOTA KOTA.

(From a Photograph by Mr. R. Webb, 1896.)

the Bishop's body on the rocks in Leopard's Bay, near where he sank. It was known by a bit of the cassock still on it, but, after a fortnight in the water, the face was unrecognisable.

A white flag with a red cross was laid over their precious burden, and so they reached Kota Kota on St. Matthew's Day. It was absolutely impossible to send the body any further, so it was at once buried on

The Funeral
at Kota Kota,
Sept. 21.

the spot where the chancel for a future church

was marked out. This grave became, as Mr. Sim said, a guarantee for the permanency of Kota Kota as a station. So passed away almost the senior clerical member of the Mission, and with him the senior layman.

Joseph A.
Williams.

Joseph Williams had been drawn to the Mission by the influence of Bishop Maples, when at Liverpool. They made their first voyage to Africa together, and together they went on their last journey, having worked a good deal in the same stations. He was not a great reader, yet he spoke three native languages.

"How effective, too, was that slave stick, well known for some months to the porters and station-master of our neighbouring station (it has been said that he once lectured on it on York platform, while waiting for a train), or that bit of bark cloth, or the chief's dress, which he showed you so often how to fasten without buttons or pins, or the printed Swahili Prayer-book! How real everything seemed to us as he showed them, and talked of them!"

It is interesting to know that the box of sacred vessels was brought ashore, uninjured, by one of the crew.

Bishop
Maples'
Character.

In speaking of the great powers of mind of Bishop Maples, something has been said of his character. Yet we must add the testimony of Mr. Vaughan-Kirby, the lion-hunter.

"I am proud to think that I can claim more than a mere passing acquaintance with one whose name is, and ever will be, associated with so much noble work in that Dark Continent. A genial, kindly-hearted, Christian gentleman, broad, liberal-minded to a degree, and of steadfast purpose, he was the very beau ideal of a missionary. I shall not readily forget his earnest, simple, straightforward address at Chinde as he was on his way home for consecration."

Another who knew him well says :—

“The central point around which all other gifts and graces revolved was zeal for God. This zeal, in the early days of his life, may have, on occasion, outrun discretion. But as his experience increased, it shone with a steady light, which assuredly was also a beacon to his fellow-workers. . . . To the earnestness and eagerness of his nature, impatience would naturally be allied. But this fault must, to a great extent, have been conquered. We are told he would sit for hours on the ground, cross-legged like a native chief, listening to a difficult case, before he finally delivered his opinion. Thoroughness was another strong point with him. He could not bear scamped work ; he gave his best, and he expected others to do the same.”

But even before the fatal upset of the *Sherriff*, another of the Likoma party had entered into rest. George William Atlay was son of Bishop Atlay of Hereford. Rev. George William Atlay. Educated at Marlborough and St. John's College, Cambridge, he decided, in his final year at the University, on joining the Central African Mission, feeling specially drawn to Nyasaland, by its Archdeacon, who preached the sermon when he was ordained at Hereford ; his father rejoicing much at this offering of his son.

He went out in 1891 with the Archdeacon, and worked at Likoma, where his labours were much blessed ; and at Easter, 1895, he baptized twenty-five men and thirty-four women, his communicants numbering more than one hundred.

On St. Bartholomew's Eve the school broke up as usual for a week's holiday, and Mr. Atlay, with an Englishman's love of sport,—much needing a rest and change,—went out with some of his boys to hunt on the mainland. On his way to the boat he met Miss Palmer, and said good-

bye, drawing her attention to his little white kitten, which he was taking with him in his coat pocket.

And so he went out, as Mr. Johnson said, "to hunt rest, and please God, he found it." For the Angoni were on the warpath. The Angoni are part of the same nation as the Magwangwara, and dwell on both sides of the lake. At this time they were under

Angoni on
the war-
path.



GIRLS' SCHOOL, LIKOMA, WITH MISS PALMER AND MISS WOODWARD.

three chiefs: (1) Songela's men, who had nothing to do with this war; (2) Mlamilo's,—this chief is friendly, and claims suzerainty over our lakeside stations on the east of Nyasa; (3) those under Zinchaya, who had a standing grudge against all Europeans, for the strong anti-slave trade

measures of both English and Germans. It was these last who were on the war-path on the Eastern shores, just where Mr. Atlay had settled his little camp. He and two boys, Wilfrid and Edward, were taking a siesta after lunch on the 26th, in the grass hut, when a party of Angoni rushed past, scattering the boys, who all fled except James Kempekete, who awoke the sleepers, and only fled on being attacked with a club. Wilfrid and Edward were at once seized, but they watched the end, and as, owing to Mlamilo's influence, they afterwards returned free, we know what followed.

On being awakened, Mr. Atlay arose, and faced the Angoni, holding in his hand his Winchester repeating rifle, loaded in all ten chambers. There stood the savages, brandishing their clubs. In his hand were ample means of defence, and in one instant he knew "some one had blundered." They were mistaking him for a political agent, and taunting him with having taken away their power in the Lake villages. It seems doubtful if he could speak their language, but in that one instant he made up his mind he would not save his life at the price of shooting down his murderers. "As a sheep before her shearers," he seems to have said nothing, while they pushed him about



REV. G. W. ATLAY.

and hit him in the side with a club. That it was not the dazed patience of a stunned man we know, for the boys saw him cover his face in prayer, and heard him say "*Amen.*" By this time he had staggered down to the brook amid the palm trees, and there they speared him, holding him under water with a pointed bamboo.

Death of
Mr. Atlay,
Aug. 26.

Here a few days later Mr. Johnson found all that was left of his brother, and beside him the loaded gun, the silent witness of the voluntary sacrifice when the good shepherd laid down his life for the sheep he could not save.

Mr. Atlay's
Funeral.

The body was taken to Likoma, and laid in the church while a grave was dug. At midnight all was ready, and Mr. Johnson committed his body to the grave by the light of a very brilliant and nearly full moon, little thinking that his friend and Bishop lay unburied beneath the waves in Leopard Bay.

An outburst of sympathy with the Mission in these sorrowful losses was poured forth from all quarters, from the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Salisbury downwards. The former wrote :

Archbishop
Benson on
the Nyasa
Losses.

"It seems almost incredible that Bishop Maples should have been taken away by our Lord from his hopeful, healthful work, and just sent out into the middle of the Lake to consecrate it by his death.

"But in that *λαίλαψ ἀνέμου*, which *κατέσκηψεν*, I suppose, on to the Lake, as of old, I have no doubt that *He* was walking on the water, and said, 'It is I, be not afraid,' to His disciple.

"These sharp-shootings into the midst of our work are most hard to understand, as it is for Him alone ; but still we should not have the treasure in earthen vessels if they were not sure to break from time to time.

"I knew the Bishop of Hereford so intimately and affection-

ately from the time when I was at Cambridge, much his junior, and he was so thankful and happy in his son George's ordination to the work, that I feel the boy's martyrdom and speedy following of his father into the αἰών ὁ μέλλων to be almost close at one's side.

"We may say 'Alas! for our work!' But it is impossible to say 'Alas! for Christ's work.'"

CHAPTER XVII.

A PARTING VIEW OF THE MISSION.

*Uplift the banner ! Wide and high,
Sea-ward and sky-ward let it shine :
Nor skill nor might, nor merit ours ;
We conquer only in that Sign.*

THE year 1894 stirred many hearts in the Mission cause, when Archbishop Benson summoned a conference on Missions. It lasted five days. Many subjects were discussed ; but to the Universities' Mission the most interesting paper was that in which the Rev. H. W. Woodward maintained boldly that a common life of sacrifice is more fitted for the Church's soldiers in their pioneer warfare, where "no man that warreth entangleth himself with the affairs of this life," than the family life of consecration, which might suit better the more settled fields of pastoral labour. He ended by urging strongly such training for the work as was just becoming possible through the Society of the Sacred Mission.

This Order has now sent out seven lay workers to the area of the Universities' Mission, all excellently trained.

Industrial work among girls has already been mentioned, and it now remains to tell of Mr.

**The
Industrial
boys.**

Herbert Lister's gallant attempt at systematic training for the boys. From the very beginning at Mago-mero, it was always intended that this should take a high

place among the Mission work. Yet in 1893 the result was not satisfactory. The efforts were wanting in continuity; and carpenter's work for use up country (even in our Mission buildings) was actually being imported ready made from India.



REV. A. G. B. GLOSSOP AND NYASA BOYS AT KIUNGANI.

The want of success was partly owing to the nature of African boys, who have much less staying power than English ones, and who are not good at originating. But until now industrial work had been a sort of punishment for unruly boys. The ideal steadily held before a boy at Kiungani was to be a teacher, or even a priest. This was the primary object of the College's

Former want
of success.

existence, and the most pressing need for Africa. But when the boys who were too stupid or too naughty to be teachers were sent to do industrial work, naturally the industrial training had not a fair chance.

Gradually Kiungani has assumed the position of a training and theological college,—the boys have ceased to be chiefly freed slaves (indeed, lately no more such boys have been taken), but are mostly picked boys from up-country schools. Magila, out of its six hundred boys, perhaps sends forty to Kiungani, Newala twenty, and Nyasa sixteen. These picked boys are most likely to become teachers.

But there still remain the children of the freed married slaves at Mbweni, and of the Christian families in Zanzibar, and such of Miss Mills' little boys as will not be likely to make teachers.

Apprentice-ships. These had for some time been apprenticed to tradesmen (fundis) in the town for three years, at a premium of twenty rupees; but the fundis, having received the money, taught the boys little. However, that has now been changed. First Mr. Bishop, and then Mr. Lister, early in 1893, took the boys in hand, living with them in a house under the wing of Mkunazini, entering into their joys and sorrows, and sending them out by day to their trades, under Hindi, Banyan, and Swahili masters; and so much are they sought after that, far from paying a premium, they are allowed to serve one year without wages, another for one-third of a man's wages, and the third year two-thirds; and thus earn their wedding outfits, and a little for tools. There are now seventy of these boys, learning to be blacksmiths, tinsmiths, silver-smiths, masons, carpenters, cooks, washermen, brass-

workers, bookbinders, and clock and watch cleaners. If a boy has to make a silver ornament, you give him its weight in rupees, and he manufactures it. One of these boys made a serviceable and pretty cross and chain for a lady, of the alloyed silver of the coinage. Besides those in the city, a few boys are doing well in the English Navy.

They are encouraged to govern themselves, and make their own rules with the consent of the European in charge.

If the primary need of Africa is a native priesthood, the next must be the building up of a model laity—men able to take their place in life, as devout children of the Church. It is all the more necessary for these to set an example of Christian family life, as even in the case of a married European, his children could not be brought up in Africa or they must be shut in from heathen surroundings.

This work, therefore, is one of great hope for the future, needing only for its growth a firm and loving director. Some of these boys serve in the cathedral choir and some at the altar, and the greatest possible punishment is to take a boy out of the choir.

The old laundry at Kiungani is now removed into the town, the staff increased, and more outside washing taken. They even wash the nurses' collars and cuffs, and no fault can be found with them. The printing establishment has followed the laundry into town, where it will be still more useful.

The laundry
and
printing press
removed to
Mkunazini.

In due time marriages are arranged for these boys with Miss Thackeray's girls.

"In former days, when an Industrial boy went to court a girl at Mbweni, the girls said, 'Go away, you have been up to some tricks, or you would not be an

Their
Marriages.

industrial', but now the boys may have their pick of sweet-hearts."

When they marry, they generally settle down in a little house in the Christian quarter, near the cathedral.

Is not this such work as was done by the monks of the Middle Ages, when the workers in stone and wood, in

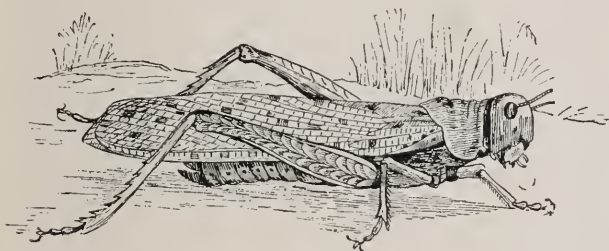


MBWENI SCHOOL GIRLS.

metal and gems, were taught in their schools and gathered into Guilds? and if there was no printing office, was there not the Scriptorium with its careful copyists and painters? And shall any say that the work is secular, or be disheartened because some of the boys look on the Industrial Home as the goal of their desires? Whatever can be done for God's sake is God's work.

On the mainland, too, industrial work has gone forward. A Likoma boy holds the post of telegraphist at Blantyre, having learnt the work from a Sikh in a few weeks, and he is now himself teaching others. Sir Harry Johnston, H.M. Commissioner in the British Central Africa Protectorate, reports officially several Mission boys printing in the Government Press at Zomba, who, from untutored savages, had in a few months become "skilled printers." He has also employed carpenters and masons from our Mission stations.

Industrial
work on the
mainland.



LOCUST.
(Life size.)

"They are equally keen and apt in learning their military drill, in acquiring a knowledge of brickmaking, masonry work, carpentering, and even of clerical work and accounts. Our mission undoubtedly is to raise the negro of Central Africa into a civilized nationality."

It will be remembered that as Bishop Smythies journeyed to the coast from his last visit to Magila, he noted a good many locusts. These insects had never before done harm in this part of Africa within the memory of man; but now they came, that mighty army, darkening the face of earth and heaven, and

The Locust
Famine begins,
May, 1894.

by May, 1894, had eaten up all the growing crops in the Bondé district. After a time the scourge became general, spreading even to South Africa; but nowhere was such utter distress and desolation caused as in the Usambara group of stations. For a whole year everything was eaten by locusts, for another the crops suffered a good deal, while even in May, 1896, we read that though some crops were got in, whole fields were still devastated.¹ It is very unusual for them thus persistently to lay waste the same

Mission
Charities.

country year after year. The Mission bought rice for its own people, and none of them actually died of starvation, though they suffered much. But there were starving multitudes around them, and to these, as far as possible, rice was sold very cheaply. And, as usual, hearts were warmed, and good done in the end, though at the time people were so occupied in keeping body and soul together that instruction languished.

Good out
of evil.

At Mkuzi the Rev. Godfrey Dale could not help asking a Mohammedan, who came to buy, why the rich Arabs, "who know what true religion is, do not send you up rice?" "Ah," he replied, "you have pity, but they have no pity." A touching story is told of a poor woman who had made a previous vow to offer a rupee for God's service, when her child could run alone and call her "mother," coming now, when she had not even food, with a rupee some one had given her, to fulfil her vow and give thanks.

Additions to
the Native
Ministry.

As a consolation for this trial, we find that these two years saw as many natives ordained

¹ Thanks have since been returned for the plentiful harvest, and cessation of the locust plague.

as in all the thirty-three previous years. At the time of Bishop Smythies' death the Mission had five native clergy—the Revs. James Salfey, Cecil Majaliwa, Petro Limo, John Swedi, and Denys Seyiti. Five more were added in these two years—the Revs. Samuel Schoza, Yohanna Abdallah, Cypriani Chitenje, Daudi Machina, and Hugh S. Mtoka. But as Mr. Salfey has gone to work



MKUZI SCHOOL.

in South Africa, the number of our native clergy was reduced to nine.

Of these we have seen that our old friend Yohanna Abdallah, ordained by the kindness of Bishop Tucker (East Equatorial Africa) early in August, 1894, proceeded to join Dr. Hine at Unangu, being Bishop Smythies' legacy to that station.

Yohanna
Abdallah
Ordained,
Aug., 1894.

Samuel
Sehoza
Ordained at
Iona,
Aug. 24, 1894.

An unusual interest attaches to the ordination of Samuel Sehoza, an old Mission pupil from Umba, the town of Petro Limo. He had been educated at Magila, Kiungani, and Dorchester Missionary College, and now on St. Bartholomew's Day, 1894, in the Isle of Iona, the cradle of so much of the Christianity of Scotland and of England, there knelt the young African to receive deacon's orders at the hands of the Bishop of Nyasaland, the Bishop of the diocese (Argyll and the Isles) assisting. He was presented by the Rev. H. W. Woodward, and thus there stood together an African Bishop, Priest, and Deacon, where so often more than thirteen centuries before the royal and saintly Columba and his monks came and went. Samuel Sehoza has worked since in the Magila district, chiefly at Misozwe, and has lately been advanced by Bishop Richardson to the Priesthood.



BISHOP RICHARDSON.

The Right
Rev. W. M.
Richardson,
Bishop of
Zanzibar.

To Bishop Richardson we must now turn. The Rev. William Moore Richardson, Vicar of Ponteland, in the Diocese of Newcastle, is an Oxford graduate who had successively held the posts of Curate of Christ Church, Wolverhampton, Chaplain of All Saints' Convalescent Home, Eastbourne, second master of Bloxham,

Curate of Dorchester (Oxon), and Vicar of Wolvercote. He accepted the Diocese of Zanzibar, saying he could at least be a stepping-stone. Spending little time in fare-

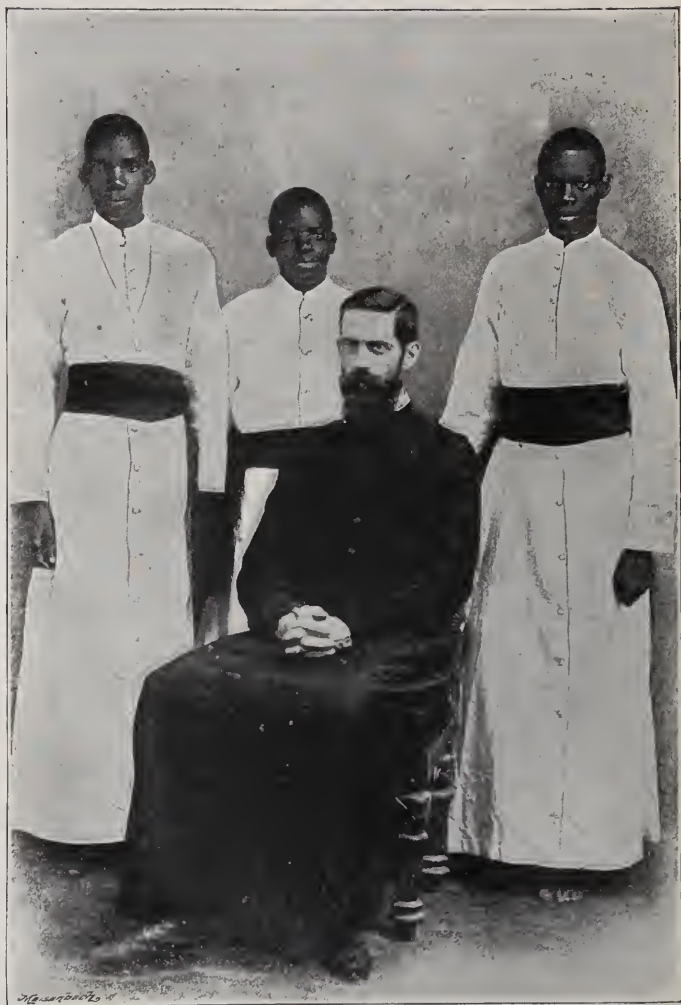
wells, he hurried out to his diocese, and came in sight of Christ Church tower on August 30th. If he had few farewells, he had hundreds of greetings, for the Archdeacon of Zanzibar and the Rev. J. P. Farler, who was paying a visit to old scenes, came on board with the English Consul. Christ Church bells were chiming for joy, and all the Mission seemed to be swarm-

The new
Bishop lands
in Zanzibar,
Aug. 30th.



ZANZIBAR (FROM KIUNGANI).

ing on the beach. Suddenly a voice in the dusk said that the Bishop would go straight to the Cathedral before entering any house. The choir was scattered here and there, but by desperate efforts they were collected, and then the Bishop walked to the Cathedral, followed by hundreds of people from Mbweni, Kiungani, etc. Solemn



ARCHDEACON JONES-BATEMAN, WITH NATIVE DEACONS.

Cypriani Chitenje.

Hugh Swinton Mtoka.

Daudi Machina.

Evensong followed, and Martin Rinkart's hymn, "Now thank we all our God," was sung before the *Magnificat*; and the service ended with a *Te Deum*; and well it might, for a son of consolation had been granted to Africa, to make up for those who were gone.

And now to see the Mission with new eyes, as the Bishop saw it.

So diligent were his Swahili studies that in three weeks he was able to take the service in Swahili, when he ordained Daudi Machina and Cypriani Chitenje, free men from the Rovuma, who have

Ordination
of Deacons at
Zanzibar,
Sept. 22nd.



MKUNAZINI.—INDUSTRIAL HOUSE AND PRINTING OFFICE.

worked ever since in their native country; Hugh Mtoka, rescued in Bishop Steere's days from a slave caravan, and who works in the same country; and Mr. William Bishop, for eleven years a devoted lay worker, who has since gone to Newala.

These Swahili studies of the Bishop's were much simplified by Mr. Madan's Swahili-English Dictionary, a work involving much research and

Mr. Madan's
Dictionary.

labour, which was welcomed by Church and State ; great care having been taken to give a Swahili equivalent for each sense of an English word.

The houseless Bishop. The first thing that struck the Bishop in the city of Zanzibar was, that he is houseless. Homeless he is not, having rooms at Mbweni and Kiun-



THE NATIVE WARD IN THE HOSPITAL.

gani, but now that old Mkunazini House is pulled down, he has no house in which to show hospitality.

A state visit was paid to the Sultan, who entertained them, among other refreshments, with ginger ale from Belfast. When the Bishop said he was a little old to come to Africa for the first time, the Sultan replied : " Not at

all," and consoled him by the example of a holy man in Arabia who lived to be 140!

Close to his Cathedral the Bishop found the Hospital under Miss Breay doing good work among Europeans and natives. The staff of nurses, diminished by deaths, was partly recruited by training native nurses; but this experiment proved not altogether satisfactory, because, though their clever fingers made surgical work easy, they much disliked the more disagreeable duties. It has been proposed to turn the Hospital into a clergy house, and to rebuild the Hospital on the pleasant sea-frontage.

With the departure of the industrial element, Kiungani falls into its natural place as School and Theological College. The numbers remain at about 100, the Guild including about a third of that number. Many names there are who have helped the Principal to give Kiungani its high position, but especially must be mentioned Mr. Walter King, an old choir boy of St. Paul's Cathedral, who for twelve years has worked there, in addition to his duties of organist of the Cathedral, and treasurer; Mr. Madan, student of Christ Church, Oxford; Mr. William J. H. Chambers; Rev. Godfrey Dale; Mr. E. H. T. Prior; and Mr. A. Hitchborn.

At Mbweni, the Girls' School, from which twenty-six of the Mission teachers have already come, numbers over 100; and as very few European ladies come out to teach in up-country schools, this work is almost as important as Kiungani.

Let us find place here for a stirring incident in their history. In 1894, the Mbweni Christian villagers themselves captured a slave canoe.

The Hospital.

Kiungani.

Mbweni.

A slave canoe
captured by
native
Christians.

Four poor children, a girl of eight, and three boys older, had been seized on the mainland by six men, and brought to an uninhabited island, where they left them till nightfall, when it would be safe to bring them ashore ; with them was left bound one man, who had acted the part of Reuben to Joseph and refused to help the rest. They then went off to a fishing village, leaving one man in charge of the boat.



REV. J. K. KEY DISTRIBUTING THE SATURDAY ALLOWANCE OF SOAP AT MBWENI.

The captive, breaking his bonds, managed to reach Mbweni, where the excited natives kindled a fire on the beach, and made the signal agreed on for bringing the children ashore. Their gaoler, thus deceived, brought them over, and the Mbweni people—one armed with a sword, another with the bone of a sword-fish, easily rescued them. The girl was sent to the school,—the boys were adopted on the

Shamba, their respective parents running a race as to which child should get fat soonest!

At Kilimani we leave Miss Mills among her Kilimani.
little ones, happy in knowing that some of her
early pupils are now serving at the altars of their native
churches. Her seventeen years of work have left their
traces on her as well as on her work. May she long be
spared to rule over her family of house-boys and day-
scholars.

"The bright schoolroom," writes a visitor, "with its tiled roof, teak ceiling, and forty or fifty scholars in blue or pink kisibaus, was a good object lesson, and with astonishment one learnt that these little fellows do all the work of the house."

On St. John Baptist's Day, they kept the first anniversary of their coming to Kilimani. Old pupils came from Kiungani and Mkunazini, including the Rev. Denys Seyiti from Kichelwe, and 114 sat down to dinner. Afterwards the thirty mothers of the day-boys came to tea, and were waited on by their sons, a great improvement on the native custom of women waiting on men.

Mbweni has a habit of getting too thickly Kichelwe.
populated, and, very wisely, a few families
crossed to the excellent port of Dar es Salaam, and settled
at Kichelwe in the Zaramo country. More joined them,
and presently they asked for a clergyman. Denys Seyiti
having just been ordained deacon by Bishop
Smythies, on Midlent Sunday, 1893, was sent Founding
of Mission at
Kichelwe,
April, 1893.
there in April, and he and his flock are devoted
to each other. They have built a wooden Church entirely
at their own cost—with only grass mats as seats—and also
a Parsonage.

Mr. Farler, who visited Kichelwe about two years afterwards, says :—

“I found that Denys is not only the pastor, but the father of the little community; his word is law, and he is implicitly obeyed.”

Some of the Wazaramo and some of the coast people have been attracted to this bright little village, and all attend Denys' instruction. They support themselves chiefly by rearing fowls, vegetables and fruit, which they sell to the German authorities. When Bishop Richardson paid his first visit there (January 13, 1896), he confirmed seventy candidates, and there had been 100 baptisms in the previous year.

The Bishop's
first visit to
Rovuma
District,
October, 1895.

The Bishop's first mainland visit, however, was to the Rovuma district. The last wish of Bishop Smythies for this part of the work was to plant a station at Mtarika's, about half-way from Masasi to the Lake, completing, however slightly, the chain of stations from the Indian Ocean to Nyasa. He even took two of Mtarika's sons to school at Newala. All had seemed ready, and in June, 1895, the Rev. R. F. Acland-Hood was to have started, but the Yao slave-raiding expedition in this district, which drove Bishop Maples to take the Zambesi route, hindered this also.

The general work had, however, progressed, and Bishop Richardson, passing through the deserted Chitangali, reached Newala October 5, where he was welcomed by the Revs. T. C. Simpson and R. F. Acland-Hood.

Here he found our old friend Matola very ill. For many years he had been a catechumen, and acted in a truly Christian spirit; yet he delayed baptism chiefly on

account of his wives ; and now the time had come when all his power and all his possessions must be left behind. Early in 1895 he left Newala and went for change of air to another village, three days off, on account of an ulcer in his leg. Continuing very ill, he earnestly besought Mr. Acland-Hood to baptize him, believing his illness to be a Divine punishment for wilfully remaining a heathen. Still he wavered about putting away his additional wives, but in August sent a message to Mr. Hood that he would do so, and he was carried to Mkoo, a village fifteen miles from Newala, to be nearer his teachers. Mr. Simpson met him here, and Matola signed a promise to provide for his other wives, and remain faithful to one. This was read publicly, and Mr. Simpson then baptized him by the name Yohanna. He was moved to Newala, and the clergy were constantly with him in his pain, and weakness, and penitence. He just lived till the Bishop's visit, and was conscious while the Bishop spoke to him. Yohanna Matola died October 14, and was buried with Christian rites next day. Mr. Acland-Hood writes of him :—

Baptism of
Matola.

Death of
Matola,
October 14.

“He had great gifts, and if these had been devoted to our Lord, he would have been a really great man. His influence for good in the country would have been considerable. But we cannot be sufficiently thankful that at the last he was led to desire baptism most urgently, and that he died a Christian penitent. *Requiescat in pace.*”

His successor, young Matola, though at first disposed to be rude, is now friendly to the Mission, and seems open to Christian instruction.

After visiting the Rev. Cypriani Chitenje at Miwa, and the Rev. Daudi Machina at Mkoo, the Bishop went on

to new Masasi, where he held two Confirmations. The Magwangwara were known to be in the neighbourhood, and as the Bishop left the church after the second Confirmation, he found them armed with bows and shields in the baraza. Mr. Porter and Mr. Carnon were there, and placed a chair for the Bishop. Their thoughts may have gone back to 1882,

Magwangwara
at Masasi,
October 13.



BUYING FIREWOOD AT MASASI.

but the brave warriors were true to their treaty with Bishop Maples and Mr. Porter, and "their arrows were blunt" against Masasi. They only danced a war-dance, received beads and cloth, and departed. Mwiti, now the residence of Rev. Cecil Majaliwa and most of his Chitangali flock, received the next visit, and after that the Bishop turned towards Lindi.

But the Bishop's gentle spirit had been as much grieved

at the state of old Masasi as Archdeacon Jones-Bateman was the year before, and before leaving the country he made one hopeful effort, to which the lapsed Christians are responding.

Hope for old
Masasi.

This district has lost the services of the Rev. R. F. Acland-Hood, who has had to give up returning to Newala, and also of the Rev. John Hainsworth, who died while in England, April 13, 1896, after ten years' work, mostly at Newala.

A charming account of Newala came from the Rev. J. P. Farler, after his visit in 1896. He speaks of the object lesson which is taught by the orchards of fruit planted there by Bishop Maples and Mr. Porter—mulberries, oranges, limes, and custard apples are bearing fruit, and conducing to health. So, too, the spiritual fruit planted by them has ripened. The congregations increase continually, and a Church meeting was held which unanimously decided to build a larger and better church at no cost to the Mission, only waiting till the weakness caused by famine had passed to go down to the coast for cement. After Matola's death his people migrated to Mkoo, but they have decided to return to Newala after harvest.

Rev. J. Farler's
visit to
Newala,
January, 1896.

A picture of the Rev. Daudi Machina's menage reminds one of an ascetic Eastern hermit:—

Rev. Daudi
Machina.

"The whole of his furniture consists of one chair, one small table, one lamp, one native bedstead, one blanket and mat, two plates, one wash-basin, a box for books, and that is all. The kitchen contains one cooking-pot, one water-jar, and three stones on which to set the pot. He lives on native food, and wears a white cassock and black cincture. May Kiungani send forth many more like unto him."

The Usambara country next welcomed its Bishop. After spending Christmas in Zanzibar, he crossed to Tanga, where a novelty awaited him in the shape of a railway to

The Bishop's
visit to
Magila.

Mhesa, a place four miles from Magila. Mr. Woodward met him at Tanga, and the journey, which always took two days, was accomplished in as many hours, passing the limestone quarries of Buhuri, the park-like scenery of Pongwe, and taking refreshments at Ngomane. This line may ultimately reach Mount Kilimanjaro, and open up Masailand.

Effects of
the famine.

The Bishop came to a district desolated by locust famine. Its former Archdeacon, Mr. Farler, had visited it eight months before, full of hope of meeting his old converts; but arriving in the very worst of the famine, his heart was wrung by their distress. Many villages lay waste without inhabitant. In others the people looked like skeletons, weak and weary, looking for anything left by the locusts, with which the sky was still darkened, while the ground was covered with young ones just out of the egg. There were here and there deaths from starvation, and much illness, while parents sold some of their children into captivity to buy food for the rest.

"I have visited," says Mr. Farler, "many villages in the afternoons, and where of old the women were busy and happy, pounding their corn in the mortars for the evening meal, they are now bringing home bundles of weeds off which they pick the leaves, and prepare to cook them; looking up, when one greets them, with a sad smile, saying, *Kande ya mbuzi* ('Only goats' food, sir'). It makes one's heart bleed."

But good came out of evil. The parents who were so willing to sell their children were also willing to send them

to the Mission, where they knew they would be fed; and one hundred boys were thus added to Magila and fifty to Mkuzi. Mr. Woodward says that though a good many of these went home when the famine was over, a certain number will probably return again.

Besides this, the Mission found work for about 200 women in making a road to the top of a hill close to Magila (1,500 feet above it). Here the Mission has land, and here is to stand a sanatorium, where, in cooler, purer air, members of the Mission may find rest and health. The women worked gladly, receiving in return food for their households.

Here Dr. Ley was doing ^{Death of Dr. Ley, June 18.} medical work of great value. He had set before himself a de-



DR. HERBERT LEY.

finite object—the health of the Europeans and the medical relief of the Africans, and from the attempt to accomplish that object he did not swerve. His death from fever was hastened through his previously having been bitten by a snake.

Death of Rev.
G. Du Boulay,
April 1.

Another loss was that of the Rev. George Du Boulay, a young, bright, eager worker. He had left a happy and honoured home for his Master's work in Africa, and, after two years, died of fever, on his birthday, 1895.

Native Con-
ference,
Aug. 28.

Mr. Woodward, on his return from England, took charge of Magila—and soon after assembled a small conference, entirely of native Christians, to discuss native customs. No European was present. It was nearly unanimous in condemning galo and other evil or superstitious rites. Petro Limo presided.

Death of Miss
Bartlett,
April 10.

The saddest loss the Mission knew in 1895—before the Nyasa disasters—was the death of Miss Josephine Bartlett, "*dear Miss Bartlett*," as they all called her, the senior member of the Mission, which she served for twenty years, chiefly at Kiungani, where she did all a lady could for the happiness of the household of men and boys; being housekeeper, superintendent of washing, cooking, and stores, nurse, and often doctor of the college, and sympathizer in general to all the Mission. She was in the confidence of all, from the Bishop downwards, both in Bishop Steere's and in Bishop Smythies' days. She died very quietly of fever in Zanzibar Hospital, and is buried at Ziwani.

"Her quiet grace of manner," wrote Bishop Maples, "her sweet simplicity, her easy unselfishness will not soon be forgotten when we thank God for her life and example, and thank Him too that He has given her what we all know she looked forward to

when her life's work should be done, a quiet resting-place in our African burial ground for her mortal remains, and a call to Paradise for her gentle spirit."

When Bishop Richardson was in the Usambara country in January, 1896, he reached Magila, amid great rejoicings, and was as much charmed with its situation as all its visitors are. He went on to

Bishop
Richardson at
Magila,
Jan. 20.



KOLOGWE CHURCH.

KOLOGWE.

Kologwe, where he stayed three weeks, and consecrated the church. This is only the second consecrated church in the diocese, Holy Cross, Magila, being the other. But now the stone church of St. Mary the Virgin, plain (as yet), but good and solid, with plenty of space for paintings or mosaics, guiltless of aisles, arches or apse, stands on the hillside at Kologwe,

Consecration
of St. Mary
the Virgin,
Kologwe
(Feb.)

set apart for ever for the worship of God. A new school stands near, only of wattle and daub, but such wattle and such daub—every pole carefully fixed, and a lofty roof crowning all. The bridge which ruined the water-charmers has been replaced by a better one.

Confirmation
at Kologwe,
Feb. 16.

Amid all this outward prosperity, a real and true work is being carried on, and on Quinquagesima Sunday the Bishop confirmed twenty-



KOLOGWE BOYS WITH REV. P. R. H. CHAMBERS AND MR. LISTER.

three men and boys. Since then Mr. Chambers has had some more baptisms, and there are now forty Christians in Kologwe, while a sub-station has been opened at Kwa Sigi.

It will be remembered that Henry Nasibu had left the work at Kologwe; and he had taken service in the German coffee plantations at Derema, tempted partly by higher wages. A good account can now be given of him.

He refused to work on Sunday, and on that day he assembles the Christian workmen, and has service with them. On greater festivals he makes his communion at Magila.

A parting look at Nyasaland must now be taken. Sir Harry Johnston in his latest report Nyasaland. speaks most hopefully of the development of this country, which doubled its exports in 1895.

The attack made in December, 1895, by a gallant little party of English and Sikhs, on Mlosi's stronghold in North Nyasa, when Mlosi's
stronghold
captured,
Dec. 3. Major Edwards stormed and took it, hanging Mlosi, was the culminating point of a four months' campaign against slave-dealers around the Lake. At this time, 1,184 slaves were liberated.

It was of this little band of Englishmen that Mr. Johnson wrote the famous words :—

“Do people realize that most of the officers who have rushed up the Yao hills, under Yao fire, *have come here on a holiday instead of going to England.*”

He added that they made light of inconvenience and illness.

“Major Edwards realized that, fever or no fever, there are times when there can be no talk of leaving your men. . . . Would that our invalid clergy felt it their only cure to go to the front.”

This decided action, taken by the British Government, not against “natives of the country fighting for their independence, but aliens of Arab, Yao, or Zulu race, who were contesting with us the supremacy over the natives of Nyasaland,” resulted in such complete dispersion of the slave-dealers, that in January, 1896, Sir H. Johnston wrote to Lord Salisbury :—

"There does not exist a single independent avowedly slave-dealing chief within the British Central Africa Protectorate."

A new
Steamer
wanted.

So we may look for quieter days for mission work ; but, alas ! at this time the *Charles Janson* shows signs of retiring from active service, and a new steamer must be sent out.



THE "CHARLES JANSON" HAULED UP AT LIKOMA FOR REPAIRS (1895).

Arthur
Fraser Sim.

The first station taken up by our Church on the western shore of the Lake was Kota Kota, the town of Jumbe, where the Rev. A. F. Sim was placed in charge.¹

¹ See *Life and Letters of Arthur Fraser Sim*, published by the Universities' Mission.

To him the call to Africa had come in no indistinct tones, and he gave up his well-beloved work in England, saying to one who asked if after all the Africans were worth the sacrifice: "HE is worth it all!"

Soon a piece of land was bought, and with William Kanyopolea, as his assistant, they built a house:

"My house is mud, with a straw roof; its door is so low I have almost to crawl in. I and my teacher William, and a small boy live in it. It is our church, too. We have prayers morning and evening, and on Sundays I celebrate Holy Communion in it. The verandah will be my school at first."

In the month of November Jumbe, the chief of Kota Kota, was deposed by Mr. Nichol, the

Administration Agent, as dangerous, and sent to Zomba.

The next event of interest was Archdeacon Maples' visit on his way to England, when they talked all night of plans never to be realized by either; and so in the starlight, at the boat's side before daybreak, they parted to meet no more here on earth.

Meantime, he and William were working at a new house, into which he moved in February, and by April had ninety boys and ten girls in his school in the baraza. At night the men came to class, saying after a Scripture lesson: "Now our eyes are opened." But the loneliness of a new station was ap-

Called to
Africa (1894).



THE REV. A. F. SIM.

The New
House at
Kota Kota.

parent when, at Easter, there could only be three communicants.

"The mud altar was covered with a white frontal, which the ladies at Likoma had made us. On Easter Monday and Tuesday we had games—long jump, wide jump, egg-and-spoon race, with limes for eggs."

A Slave
Village
started.

In May Mr. Swann took Mr. Nichol's place, and, like every one who knew Arthur Sim, began to love him; and we soon find them to-



BRICK MAKING AT KOTA KOTA.

gether, starting a freed-slave village on the Mission land.

His first and apparently only adult baptism at Kota Kota strongly recalls that of the soldier baptized and confirmed under sentence of death in Winchester gaol $1\frac{1}{2}$ years before. A man had killed a Makua soldier, and being sentenced to death by the commissioner, was daily instructed by Mr. Sim, until he had grasped the Christian creed and commandments.

A Penitent
murderer Baptized,
July 25.

"I cannot take him so far without giving him the full privileges of the Church on earth. At daybreak this morning, in the presence of three Christian boys, I baptized him, giving him the name of Jacobo, this being St. James' Day. He died painlessly at 7 a.m., and now I have buried him, the first Christian grave in our little God's acre. Is it not a strange first-fruit of one's stay here—a penitent murderer? I need not say how awful and solemn the days of preparation have been; I think he was brave at the last, and seemed much comforted that he had friends about him, and, as we assured him, a Friend above."

Mr. Philipps, a young layman, came to help him, and he had hopes of a larger band on the Bishop's return. The merest trifles were pleasures to his bright nature :

"Mr. Swann sent me the first cabbage to-day from his garden, and a bunch of radishes which my cook at once began to boil. Try a boiled radish, do !"

The threefold blow of the deaths of the Bishop, Mr. Williams, and Mr. Atlay, have been given, and soon after he wrote his last letter (Oct. 10 to 13), ending :

"It is rather like a battlefield out here. However safe one feels oneself, there are those one cares for and looks up to falling all round us."

And on that battlefield his last fight was beginning. Five days later he was attacked by fever, and passed away very early on October 29.

Death of
Rev. A. F.
Sim,
Oct. 29.

The Rev. James Wimbush took up the post at Kota Kota, and hopeful letters come from thence. Mr. Philipps has been called to repeat Mr. Sim's action, and to prepare for death the notorious Saidi Mwazungu, the murderer of Dr. Boyce and Mr. McEwan. Leading him to repent-

ance, Mr. Philipps baptized him just before his execution, to which he walked calmly, saying, "God make everything right."

During the greater part of 1895 Mr. Johnson Work of
Rev. W. P.
Johnson. had to take his journeys round the Lake on foot, visiting the village stations, sixteen in number, and strengthening the hands of native teachers. The *Charles Janson* was laid up most of this time. Yet, in spite of his increased exertions, never had there been so much work from his pen ready for printing. Translations of Genesis, Leviticus, Ruth, Proverbs, the Minor Prophets, parts of Joshua and Isaiah, besides nearly all the New Testament in Chinyanja.

Mtonia. Mr. Johnson has also been fixing sites for new stations. Most important of these is Mtonia, a Yao town of about 10,000 inhabitants, and the cradle of their race. Archdeacon Maples had visited it once from Unangu. It seems one of the healthiest sites in Central Africa, the houses lying more than 5,000 feet above the sea level—some as much as 7,000. Unangu and Mtonia can just look at each other on a fine day across forty-five miles of country. Though Bishop Hine and Yohanna Abdallah both desire it, nothing has as yet been done here.

Unangu. The deacon Yohanna Abdallah remains in charge at Unangu; and he seems to be managing Kalanje, the difficult chief who, being in Portuguese territory, retains his slave dhow. Only two years ago a woman, on some accusation of witchcraft, was burnt to death, and Kalanje had not interfered, yet now he comes to hear Abdallah preach.

Here, then, we leave Nyasaland with Mr. Johnson.

There he still is, sailing or tramping round his Lake like one of those mediæval missionaries in the times when

“around individuals penetrated with Christian zeal and self-denial centred, not merely the life but the very existence of the churches of Europe. Take away these men, blot out their influence, and how materially would events have varied, how much the entire history of the Middle Ages would have been altered.”

Dr. Hine was not long to be left on his “solitary double-domed mountain.” Since the separation of the See from the province of South Africa, the Archbishop of Canterbury¹ has the power of appointment, and Archbishop Benson exercised this power by appointing Dr. Hine to succeed Bishop Maples.

John Edward Hine John Edward Hine. had, as a boy, been

present at Dr. Livingstone's funeral in Westminster Abbey. A man's future place in the world is more often fixed by an impression in boyhood than

people think, and so it was here. He became a medical man, but was afterwards thoroughly trained for Holy Orders, graduating at Oxford, and receiving theological instruction at the Scholæ Cancellarii, Lincoln.

In 1888 he joined the Mission, and reached Zanzibar, January 30, next year, and he has worked in Zanzibar, and at Likoma and Unangu.



REV. W. P. JOHNSON.

(From a photograph taken at Likoma, 1894.)

¹ See Appendix III.

Consecrated
Bishop of
Likoma,
June 29.

He was consecrated to the See of Likoma on St. Peter's Day, at St. Matthew's, Bethnal Green, the first Bishop of Hokkaido being consecrated with him. The Archbishop was assisted by the Bishops of St. Albans, Exeter, Rochester, Rockhampton, Mashonaland, and by Bishop Hornby, who thus for the second time helped to consecrate a successor to his diocese, within four years of his own consecration. Canon Crowfoot, Vice-

Principal of the Scholæ Cancellarii, Lincoln, preached on the words, "Jesus saith unto him, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou Me?" All hearts were very full of that day the year before. "The dead are present with us," said one.

The Nyasaland pastoral staff is a parable of this effort. Some time

The Nyasaland
Pastoral Staff.

ago a large elephant tusk was given to Archdeacon Maples by those wild



BISHOP HINE.

Magwangwara over whom his heart and many another had yearned. He determined that this gift of the Magwangwara—yet heathen—should become the pastoral staff of Nyasaland. When Bishop Mackenzie set his face northward from the Shiré, he had gone forth with his staff in one hand and his gun in the other. That wooden staff, always treasured, was now much injured by time; and here was

something well-nigh imperishable to take its place—or rather to enshrine the primal staff. It was ready by the anniversary, May 21, 1896, and was shown to the friends assembled. Surely no diocese has ever had a crozier so beautiful, precious, and rich in memories. It was with a thrill that one saw the bit of the old staff made visible through silver-gilt lattice work. At the spring of the crook are the figures of the Evangelists, and of SS. Peter and Paul, under silver canopy work. Many memories will that staff hand down, perhaps none grander than that of the day when he went forth to face the Magwangwara in their wrath for the sake of his flock. “A thousand shall fly at the rebuke of one” might well be its motto.

If the memory of Bishop Mackenzie must ever be enshrined within the history of latter days, another name remains linked with his.

Horace Waller, the noble-minded lay superintendent then (the parish priest since), who stuck through life so persistently to his task of raising the African, and of fighting the slave-trade, had worked well in the London committee of the Mission, at the Board of the Anti-Slavery Society, and in his quiet

Death of the
Rev. Horace
Waller,
February 22.

Parsonage at Twywell, at any plan that made for the good

of Africa. He too has passed to his reward, dying in February, 1896.

Since then Zanzibar has known another change of Sultan. Hamid bin Thwain, after a three years' reign, died under circumstances that suggest foul play. Immediately Seyid Khalid Barghash, who had tried to usurp the throne in 1893, showed that he was prepared for the event, barricaded

Death of
Sultan Hamid
and usurpation
of Seyid Khalid,
August 25.



SULTAN'S PALACE.

(From a sketch by Miss Cameron.)

the palace, and declared his intention of reigning or dying there. The next day Admiral Rawson, with the *St. George* from the Cape, arrived, and gave the Sultan an ultimatum of hauling down his flag, or having the palace bombarded. The European residents were ordered on board the British ships. At an early hour the palace was shelled, and was soon in flames. The usurper, however, came off his high horse, and neither reigned nor perished; he took a third course, and simply fled. His more peaceable elderly cousin, Hamid, was proclaimed Sultan of Zanzibar.

The Sultan's
Palace
bombarded,
August 27.

All the English people—both the authorities and the

Mission staff—behaved splendidly in this hour of danger, and the movements were as orderly as if all had been foreseen. On Tuesday the Mission festival was kept at Mbweni, when news arrived about 4 p.m. that all Europeans should go on board the ships. That night some were sent off, but Miss Thackeray, Misses R. and M. Berkeley, and the girls were taken to the schoolroom, and Miss Mills and her boys joined them there. Mr. Farler and Mr. Griffin remained in charge. The next day they were fetched off in a despatch boat, Miss Thackeray packing in all her married teachers and the shamba children. They were most kindly received on board the British India mail steamer. The Kiungani boys were taken to the British Consulate at 6 a.m. on Thursday morning, Mr. Firminger following up with his flock of men, women, and children—the whole Mkunazini contingent being subsequently increased by the folk from the Mbweni shamba. At the hospital Bishop Tucker, who was there as a patient, was carried on board the India mail, and the sick being all cared for, the nurses were sent into safety. Mr. H. Faulkner and Mr. Sanderson remained with the soldiers to guard Mkunazini house and the cathedral, and Mr. Farler went from post to post. At 5.45 a.m. the church bell had rung for the daily Eucharist, and none were disobedient to its call. Mr. Firminger says: "I think nearly every Christian was present."

Then after the storming of the palace, members of the Mission staff went to render such help to the surgeons, in the care of the wounded, as was possible. The scene at the custom-house, where the poor creatures were brought, is said to have been one of indescribable horror. The Mission hospital was soon full, and leave for Nurse

Brewerton to return to her post was obtained. By Friday all was quiet, and every one returned home. It was indeed thankworthy that not one of the staff suffered, and that a seat on the hospital roof was the only property destroyed.

Our outlook
in Africa.

At this point, ceasing to look back, we look forward to coming years. What will the dawn of another century see in Central Africa? "Lines of light" have already been drawn across her map. Will they



STREET IN ZANZIBAR.

broaden into tracts of brightness till there is no part left dark even in Darkest Africa?

For the fields *are* "white already to harvest." Nation after nation is stretching out its hands to us. Everywhere the Bishop of Zanzibar says he sees expansion, and not retrenchment. Mr. Johnson writes of station after station to be occupied in the near future if England's Church is

to do her own work, and not leave it to others. As Canon Crowfoot said at Bishop Hine's consecration :

"Who will venture to predict what future may be in store for the tribes now living on the shores of Lake Nyasa? We seem to stand upon the confines of a land of promise. Great possibilities



GROUP OF ZANZIBAR LABOURERS.

stretch in front—great opportunities, if workers only will press forward to take them up."

There is the situation. Zanzibar cannot hold herself back. She must cross over to Pemba, that island of sorrow, in whose clove fields we know that the horrors of the slave trade are not over, and which we have not touched.

“Ah, let us go to Pemba,” said a rescued slave-boy, “and ransom my mother, lest she die before she hears of the Cross.” Well may we take up his words—“Let us go to Pemba, lest these, our brothers and sisters by creation, die without hearing of their crucified Lord. And not only to Pemba. Let Bondé missions go forward into Usambara and Zigualand, and pause not till they reach the Masai. From Rovuma let us reach Makualand. Let Unangu no longer be the solitary Yao station, and let Nyasa spread far and wide among the Atonga and Angoni on her coasts, till at last the brave and wayward Magwangwara bow down as obedient sons of the See of Likoma, whose staff they have all unconsciously provided.

But force we not our labourers to reap the unripe corn—by expecting immense results at once. Not like Jonah’s gourd that came up in a night and perished in a night is the slow, steady ripening of the Church’s harvest. For the task is not only to overthrow strongholds of iniquity : that were comparatively easy. It is the slower, harder work of lifting up. To raise these many nations out of the unimaginable horrors of their past, raising them to a place among the kingdoms of Christianity as a free and holy people, will require all our strength, our courage, and our endurance.

“Pray ye therefore the Lord of the
harvest, that He send forth labourers into
this harvest.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

AFTER TWO YEARS.

1896-1898.

WHEN the History of the Mission was closed towards the end of 1896, two hopes were uppermost. First, that in one way or another slavery should be abolished. Secondly, that the untouched Island of Pemba might be brought under Christian influence. Two years have passed, and these hopes are in course of being realized. Two years ago.

On the day on which the "History" was actually published (April 6, 1897), the legal status of slavery was abolished at Zanzibar; while the first missionary of our Church reached Pemba in August, in the person of the Rev. J. K. C. Key, soon to be joined by his brave wife.

But, before dwelling on these fulfilments of many prayers, let us revisit the outlying stations and see how they fare.

And first NYASALAND. A new beginning was made at Mponda's Town, Fort Johnston, in July, 1896, under the Rev. C. B. Eyre and Mr. Philipps; various native teachers had worked there during the previous two years. There are now schools on both sides of the river and a church. Nyasaland.

At Likoma, while still awaiting the arrival of a Bishop, good work was done both in the schools, one of which was a girls' boarding school under Miss Ellershaw, and in the little stone hospital. Likoma.

Bishop Hine's arrival. On Mid-Lent Sunday, 1897, Bishop Hine arrived to gladden the hearts of those who had been without a Bishop's presence since 1894. He at once assembled the Mission workers—a grand meeting : Bishop, seven priests, a deacon (Yohanna Abdallah), seven laymen and two ladies—eighteen in all. A three days' Retreat was held as a preparation for an informal Conference, after which John G. Philipps was ordained deacon. On Easter Eve, thirty-two adults were baptized by the Bishop, who used his beautiful pastoral staff, described before.

Industrial work prospered under Mr. Howell Williams, and the Psalms have been printed in Chinyanja, the tongue of the Nyasas. A fire unfortunately burnt down the engineer's house and shop on the water's edge, causing much loss ; an iron roof and glass windows, could these have been afforded, would probably have saved this fire.

1897.
(Dec. 24.)
Dedication of
Church at
Likoma. On Christmas Eve, the new temporary Church was dedicated by the Bishop. Mr. Williams had built it in six months—cruciform, with a large apse, and a baptistery for immersion in the south transept. In time it is hoped to have screens parting choir from nave, and baptized from unbaptized. The builder only survived the dedication seven months, going for a change to Unangu, whence came a letter full of plans. Howell Williams died on July 30. In that last letter he says :—
“ Oh dear ! when are our losses to cease ? We have lost Margesson, an ideal priest, one of the finest fellows I ever met.”

1898.
(April 5.)
Death of
Rev. W. A.
Margesson. William Anthony Margesson, who died in Holy Week, had been for rather over two years in the Mission. One of his friends wrote of him :—

"The most lovable man I have ever come across. It always seemed to do one good to be with him ; it was quite exhilarating. He was so enthusiastic, so much in earnest, and all so genuine, so humble, and so full of sympathy. He was unmistakably a *good* man. . . . I do not think any of us knew that he meditated going out into the mission field, though when we did hear that he had made up his mind to join the Universities' Mission, none who knew him well were surprised. We all felt that it was just like him to take such a step. His aim in life seems to have been to give to God what cost him most ; and the perfectly natural way in which he always made his self-sacrifices was very striking."

In spite of these losses, Bishop Hine, after well weighing the situation, decided on not moving headquarters at present from Likoma. The climate is not to blame for all the deaths, nor has the death-roll been higher than in some other stations. The Medical Report of the Civil Service in B.C.A. shows an average death-rate of 10 per cent. Stations suitable for centres are few and far between, and in many ways Likoma is an admirable centre.

Kota Kota, too, shows a record of progress, and Mr. Wimbush considers that the new Church, dedicated on All Saints' Day, 1896 (close to which are the graves of Bishop Maples and Mr. Sim), beats everything built in our Nyasa mission up to that time. The great importance of this station lies not only in its being a place of call and traffic for Europeans, Arabs and natives, but that behind it lie countless native villages, all open now that the slave-raiding is checked. At Kasamba's, on the hills near Kota Kota, is a school built by the people themselves. The Mohammedan religion is rapidly veneer-

ing over the brutal heathenism of these parts ; so that Christianity has a twofold foe to encounter.

Work among the natives at and around
 Unangu. Unangu is very promising. This station, only founded five years ago, has for half that time been in charge of the Yao deacon (now a priest), Yohanna Abdallah, who has maintained the central station and opened two others. The Bishop visited Unangu on the anniversary of his own consecration, St. Peter's Day, and found all well—and when there are workers, he purposes planting the Church at Mtonia, another large Yao town, and at Fort Maguire.

1897.
 (June 29.)
 Bishop Hine visits Unangu ;

and on
 Jan. 6,
 1898.

Since then several were baptized by him at Epiphany, 1898, when he found that the boys' dormitory had fallen in, fatally injuring three boys, who were at once baptized by Yohanna. The Bishop wrote :—

“At the celebration in the morning, which we made as festal as circumstances would permit, I saw during the offertory a procession of little boys making its way up to the altar step, and found that they were the boys who had escaped safely that night when the house fell down. One brought a couple of eggs, another a pumpkin, another a basket of flour, and so on, which they wished to have laid on the altar as a thankoffering to God for their deliverance from the death which overtook their companions. Simple enough offerings, but surely not to be despised. Surely not less acceptable to Him to whom they were offered than the gold and frankincense and myrrh which the kings of the East laid at the feet of the Child Jesus.”

In Lent, 1898, Yohanna came to Likoma and was ordained priest, making the fourth native priest on the Mission staff.

There are now over twenty lakeside villages visited by the Mission steamer, including one of the last stations, Mponda's, near the outlet of the Shiré. These are the result of the continuous labours of Archdeacon Johnson, during his sixteen years on the lake, and of his faithful helpers. When the Archdeacon was at last sent home, in 1898, for a rest, Mr. Eyre and Mr. Wimbush in turn superintended the lakeside work. The schools here are all under native teachers, to whom the constant visits of an English priest give moral support. Early in the morning may be seen the welcome sight of the Mission steamer coming to anchor opposite a village where Church or school is prepared for a celebration. Classes are examined, difficulties solved, and once more the *Charles Janson* is on its way to bring to the next village that evangelistic help which so well carries out the prayers and intention of him whose name the steamer bears.

On June 12, Bishop Hine ordained two more Nyasa natives to the diaconate, Augustine Ambali and Eustace Malisawa. The native staff now consists of one priest, two deacons, and six readers.

The new steamer is to be the *Chauncy Maples*, and the plans are drawn on a much larger scale. She is to be 120 feet long, 20 feet beam, and 6 feet 6 in. draft.

The ROVUMA STATIONS next claim our attention. This country has been kept back by the annual visit of the Magwangwara, to collect, in more or less warlike fashion, the tribute they consider their due. This was stopped with a high hand in August, 1897, by the Germans; and Sonjela, whose name figures in African story for many

The "Charles Janson."

Ordination.

The "Chauncy Maples."

On the Rovuma.

1897.
(August.)
Quieting of
the
Magwangwara.

years, was sent in chains to Lindi, while a German fort now dominates Magwangwaraland.

Masasi. At Masasi and its subordinate stations a quiet, steady work has been accomplished under the Revs. William C. Porter, A. H. Carnon and Charles Radford. The latter, however, was invalided in June, 1897.

Newala. Newala, since the death of the Rev. J. Hainsworth, whose work can never be forgotten, has been served by the Rev. T. C. Simpson, and the English and native deacons, the Revs. William Bishop¹ and Daudi Machina. The latter has married Florence Majaliwa, daughter of the Rev. C. Majaliwa. The station has been almost rebuilt and a new Church erected.

Locusts. Again the locust plague has spread over this district, crops being destroyed there in 1897 and 1898; yet as soon as one is devoured, the poor people in faith put another into the ground.

Mwiti. About five hours off Masasi is Mwiti. Here in 1896 the Bishop found improved buildings (except that the chief was slow in building the Church), and confirmed nineteen candidates, including a daughter of Cecil Majaliwa, their priest in charge. Since then he has been transferred to Mbweni, and his place taken by the deacon, Cypriani Chitenji.

Chiwata. Chiwata is seven hours from Masasi, and, like Mwiti, is visited from that centre. Here the Christian chief, Barnaba Nakaam, received the Bishop with a dance of joy, and here the Bishop set up with prayer the three chief poles of a good new Church, the Rev. Hugh Mtoka being deacon in charge.

¹ Since ordained priest.

When Bishop Smythies paid his last visit to the Rovuma, he promised the chief Mitema, on the Makonde Plateau, that he should have a teacher. The chief has not allowed the promise to be forgotten, and under the guidance of Mr. Sims of Newala has built a school and a house for a teacher. Yet how thoroughly heathen he is, and how much he requires the instruction he asks for, was shown when he recently burnt two women for witchcraft. He is little more than a century behind England in this respect. May they soon have the promised teacher!

A new station has also been opened at Nambila, in this district.

Mitema's.

New station at Nambila.

In the USAMBARA country the locusts appeared again, but with less damage than in former years.

Usambara country.

At Magila was held a third Conference of native Christians. The celebration was entirely conducted by the Bonde clergy, after which Padre Petro Limo presided at a Conference so full that, the school seats being filled, some sat on the floor. Resolutions on native customs were passed, one forbidding Christians to attend the weddings, even of relations, where a Christian married a heathen. Saturday journeys were forbidden if they interfered with Sunday services. On April 27, John Baptist Mdoe was ordained deacon.

1897. (Aug 30.)
3rd Conference
of Bonde
Christians at
Magila.

Father Woodward wrote that he had more Christians than ever before, but regretted the want of a girls' boarding school.

Want of
evangelistic
work.

From time to time the villages around Magila—some of those "villages too many to be counted" which had

roused the zeal of Bishop Steere and Mr. Farler twenty-three years before—had been visited, but the time has now come to give up one worker as an evangelist for this task.

From the pressure of a work greater than his strength could bear, Father Woodward had to be invalided, first to the East, and failing recovery, to England, in 1898; but he was able to return to his post in September.

**Mkuzi and
Misozwé.**

During 1897 the stations of Mkuzi and Misozwé were under the care of the native priests, Padre Limo and Padre Sehoza. The former had a hard fight against native superstition, and rescued from poisoning a child who had cut her upper teeth first. He presented sixty candidates for confirmation during 1897.

**Sorcery at
Mlinga.**

At Misozwé the sorcerer Semavanga still lives near the top of Mlinga, the Spirit Mountain, and attires himself in a kanzu and old helmet which he greatly values. He tells the people it is by his orders that the locusts stay in the country, ordering that none shall be eaten. The people, however, finding by practical subtraction that eating locusts does not increase the number, disobey his orders.

Kologwe.

Kologwe, in Zigualand, is considered the most hopeful of these stations, and its condition is largely owing to the work of the Rev. P. R. H. Chambers, until banished to England by four attacks of hæmaturic fever. His influence led to "a partial observance of Sunday in Kologwe Town; great decrease in disputes and quarrelling with violence; abandonment of obscene dances in public; and possibly a diminution of child-murder." The Rev. W. H. Kisbey, who took his place, speaks of twenty more people baptized in 1897, and of the repentance of a Christian lad who had been married

with heathen and not Christian rites ; and mentions that an out school was built with the proceeds of native Lenten offerings. Mr. Kisbey was for nine months the only European priest in the Usambara district, and itinerated between Magila and Kologwe. He is now assisted by the newly ordained deacon, Samuel Chiponde.

In ZANZIBAR the Bishop held a Conference and Synod in October, 1896, and recognised the Home of the Holy Cross at Mkunazini as the Industrial centre, establishing Financial and Revision Committees, and proposed a Cathedral Chapter, in hopes of keeping up a better staff of clergy in Zanzibar City, a hope which has not immediately been realized.

Zanzibar
Island.
1896. (Oct.)
Synod.

In recording work as it is, it is hard to refrain from work as it might be, or opportunities lost for lack of means and men. At one time the Rev. W. K. Firminger was the only priest in the city, and the mission to Mohammedans at Ng'ambo had to be suspended. This one priest was responsible for all Cathedral duty, English and Swahili, the care of native Christians and resident English, and the spiritual needs of the Hospital and Industrial Home.

The Rev. W. K.
Firminger.

After the resignation of Mr. Lister, the industrial work was carried on by Mr. Roberts until his death on August 3, 1898. Mr. Roberts had worked for seventeen years in the Mission, and twice only had he visited England. Coming from Horsham, as a schoolmaster, he worked at Masasi under the Rev. C. Maples ; at Kiungani under the Rev. J. Key, where

Industrial
work.
Death of
C. W. Roberts.

“He rapidly developed that interest in native boys, and power of understanding and managing them, which made him most

useful in his position, and was the leading feature of all his future work. In 1885 he was transferred to Magila, and spent fully eleven years of unflagging and conscientious work in superintending the Mission Schools. . . . Single-hearted, unselfish discharge of daily duty as he understood it, was the dominant note of Roberts' character. Natives are quick and sure judges of character. They knew he was their friend to death, and trusted and followed one who nursed them in sickness, allowed for their weakness, gave a patient hearing to their difficulties, took their side and point of view, watched over and encouraged what was good in each."

Industrial
work
at Magila.

Industrial work began to improve all over the Mission, and at Magila a Brother of the Sacred Mission relieved the priest in charge of the superintendence of the carpenters' shop, and it is to be hoped that window-frames and furniture need no more be imported.

Kiungani and
Archdeacon
Jones-Bateman.

The mention of Kiungani in 1897 brings the thought of the death of its great Principal, the Archdeacon of Zanzibar. Percy Lisle Jones-Bateman was a Cambridge man, who joined the Mission in 1880. So strong was his sense of duty that it is recorded of his college days that, having resolved to read at a certain hour, a friend could not persuade him to come and hear Bishop Steere speak, and went away sadly feeling how hard it was to interest even a good man in Foreign Missions. The same sense of duty, however, took him to Africa, where his most characteristic work was at St. Andrew's College, Kiungani, of which for eleven years he was Principal. He contrived to inspire these native lads with a sense of high principle and duty, and to him we owe much of what is best in the native

ministry. He loved his boys, and knew what had become of the 400 who had passed through his hands. He had fever so badly that in October he was sent with Nurse Whitbread on board the French packet ^{1897. (Oct. 25.)} ^{His death.} for a voyage. At Tamatave (Madagascar) Mr. Coles (S.P.G.) administered the Blessed Sacrament to him, and offered to receive him into his house; but as Tamatave is not considered healthy he went on, but only to die at St. Denys, Réunion.

“The last days were so peaceful, and once he stretched out his hands, and when I spoke to him he said, ‘I thought I was receiving the Sacred Elements,’ and he passed away on Monday, October 25, being ministered to in his last hours by the English Consul, who had been with him part of the night.”

He lies in the Roman Catholic cemetery, his pall (as in the case of his friend Bishop Smythies) having been the English flag.

The Rev. Dr. Palmer was appointed Principal, and the Rev. James Griffin, of Mbweni, Archdeacon, in his place. In 1898 there were sixty pupils at Kiungani, whilst the staff at one time consisted of only three.

The difficulty of Mbweni, the Christian ^{Mbweni.} native village, is that, like England, it is over-populated. The released slaves, most of whom are old, must continue to live there, but some of the able-bodied families, consisting of the married children of the Mission, are encouraged to remove to fertile settlements on the mainland.

One such Christian station is Kichelwe, under ^{Kichelwe.} the Rev. Denys Seyiti. Here the Church advances with a sure footing and few backslidings. In 1896

there were sixty baptisms here. A new sub-station has
 Mtoni. been opened at Mtoni, where Harry Mnubi and
 his wife work under Denys, and in January,
 1898, presented forty candidates, who were baptized by
 the Rev. E. A. Gee at Kichelwe.

“It was a wonderful service. The people fasted all day, as the Church orders in the Prayer-Book. At the service all forty folks stood around the west end, wearing dark-blue garments. It took an hour to question them alone, as each has to be asked the questions separately. After they were baptized they went and changed their clothes for white ones, and each was given a lighted candle to hold. You can fancy how different the west end looked with all the forty clothed in white and holding tapers. One feels how true it is that inwardly Baptism brings us from darkness to light.”

Women's
 work. WOMEN'S WORK for women forms as important a task in Africa as in England. And in Africa there is many a wise-hearted woman, opening “her mouth with wisdom” and teaching “the law of kindness” to African maidens. At an important meeting on
 1898. (June 23.)
 Meeting on
 women's
 work. women's work, presided over by Mrs. Creighton, Miss Thackeray gave an admirable address on the subject, which has been printed. Released slaves, she maintains, are not bad material, for all the best teachers (with one exception) sent forth by her have been trained up from slavery. When, in 1897, no English lady remained at Likoma, Bishop Hine wrote warmly of Kathleen Mkarasho and another Mbweni girl, and there are at least eight Nyasa women teaching on and around the lake. Not alone here, but everywhere, in Usambara, at Masasi, Newala, Kichelwe, Miss Thackeray's and Miss Berkeley's

pupils, (the latter are the industrials,) are set as lights in African darkness, showing, (as Europeans for obvious reasons cannot easily do in that climate,) the beauty of a Christian household. Surely the children they teach—the future mothers of African Christendom—will rise up and call them blessed. But until the mainland has its boarding schools for girls (where alone at present can ^{Boarding schools for girls.} those from heathen families live a pure and Christian life) so long will there be the dearth of female candidates for Baptism and Confirmation, so deplored by the Bishop of Zanzibar. The Mission has over 2,000 boys in its schools and under 1,000 girls. This means heathen marriage and possible lapse for half the Christian boys.

Miss Boyd's and Miss Dunford's work at Magila has therefore been most important, and an attendance was reported, early in 1898, of twenty-eight Christian girls and nine catechumens. Considering that they are sometimes beaten by their parents for attending school, it is wonderful there are so many.

Kilimani concludes the record of women's work, where 116 little boys have been under the ^{Kilimani.} care of Miss Mills, Miss Clutterbuck, and Miss Stevens.

And so we come to the history of what will slowly make the released slave as rare as the auk's egg—the Edict of Abolition of the legal status of slavery. Ever since the bombardment a change relating to ^{1897. (April 6.)} slavery had been approaching. The wildest ^{Abolition of legal status of slavery.} rumours prevailed among the Arab owners, and nothing less than Emancipation with no compensation, together with the practical break up of the harems, was rumoured. Therefore it was a comparative relief to them

when the Sultan, assembling the chief Arabs, announced the decrees which, after conference with Mr. (now Sir) A. Hardinge, Consul-General, he had decided to issue. When the Head Arabs found that immediate emancipation was not contemplated, and that if a slave chose to free himself some compensation could be claimed (except in cases of cruelty), and when a further clause was read, excluding the harems from the benefit of the Act, they took courage, and were thankful that, after the rebellion leading to the bombardment, they had escaped so easily. The decree was posted up and the inevitable accepted.

Rev. J. P. Far- In order that, like former decrees, this
 ler, Commis- should not remain a dead letter, the Rev. J. P.
 sioner in
 Pemba.

Farler was appointed, early in 1897, as Commissioner of the Zanzibar Government for Pemba. He was shortly after joined by Mr. Lister, who had relinquished the Boys' Home for Government employ in Pemba, his wish having long been to attack slavery in this island. Though holding Government office, Mr. Farler rightly says:—"In all my life I have never been engaged in a greater work of mercy than I am now. My opportunities and power of doing away with much of the cruelty on this island are untold."

Slaves
 released. According to the Government Blue-book, it is said that in a year 2,000 slaves have freed themselves in Zanzibar and Pemba, while 2,278 more have contracted with their masters as free labourers, and are practically free.

To many Englishmen emancipation would have been preferred to partial abolition, while the clause which does not permit harem women to free themselves (even under approved regulations) seems to keep up that evil in-

equality which He in Whom is neither male nor female has done away.

But if the feet of the enfranchiser have reached Pemba, the feet of those who bring better tidings could not tarry; and it was with deep thankfulness that the Home Church heard that the Bishop of Zanzibar had sent those well-tried missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Key, to live in the longed-for territory.

Finding that a Quaker Mission was already at Chaki-Chaki, they settled at Weti, the next largest town, on a Shamba about a mile off called Kisimbani. In Weti is a school, but the Mission Shamba, on which are 1,000 clove plants and room for more, may prove a relief to over-populated Mbweni. Mr. Key reports well of the work of recently-freed slaves, who understand that freedom and idleness are not convertible terms. Dispensary work mainly occupies Mrs. Key, as many as 763 cases being treated in a month. She also makes friends with Arab ladies and native women, the Liwali's wife being very friendly, and thus the fallow ground is broken up. And so we have the standard of the Cross planted at last on the shores of long-neglected Pemba.

At home the headquarters were, on May 29, 1897, moved to 9, Dartmouth Street, where the arrangements for convenience of work and health are much better. Guest rooms can accommodate missionaries in England, and, above all, in the little Chapel prayer is said daily for the Mission, and farewell services are held. Here are preserved Bishop Mackenzie's portable altar and his college chair, with a piece of his pastoral staff. The Chapel was dedicated by the Bishop of London on All Souls' Day.

The Mission in Pemba.

Weti chosen.

Kisimbani.

The new office.

1897. (Nov. 2)
Dedication of Chapel.

1897. (Dec.)
Order for
retrenchment.

A word in conclusion on the startling order sent from England to the Bishops of Zanzibar and Likoma :—

"Accounts seriously overdrawn; make all possible retrenchment at once.—Treasurers."

Was this to be the end of Livingstone's appeal, of Mackenzie's death, and of all the lives poured forth so freely for Africa? Was our faith as miserably deficient as our works?

The answer to these questions did not tarry. From the length and breadth of England, and from far beyond, letters of regret poured in, and in about two months the £3,000 necessary to prevent retrenchment had come in, and more than thrice that sum has come since for the expansion of the work. The relief of those working in Africa was great, for who shall measure the grief of leaving those already touched, to themselves and to Satan, and the shame of having to withdraw from pledges already made?

No more
workers.

But a new disaster faced the rescued work. A pathetic cry came home that though they had money they could not expand without the men. From Zanzibar we heard :—

"Only eight priests *in the whole diocese*, and we hear of no more coming out . . . to suggest expansion is absurd. . . . The villages under my care in the island are neglected. The people in Kichelwe have not had a chance of communicating since January. If you handed me £5,000 it would not avail to help us *without men*."

The same plaint came from Likoma. For a whole year

not one priest offered to fill the places of those who had fallen.

The tide began to turn, however, and in September, 1898, Father Woodward took with him the Rev. Frank Weston from St. Matthew's, Westminster, and others are ready to sail early in 1899.

But the result of the strain to the present small staff is not yet accomplished. Already death and illness have removed many. "To bring the staff up to a state of efficiency it is estimated that sixty-five more workers are required, in accordance with a statement of the Medical Board." Are we to leave the gallant little band, as Gordon was left, unsupported in the presence of the enemy? Khartoum is taken, Gordon's work is being accomplished and the Soudan set free more than twelve years too late.

But we can't bring him back.

"Violets plucked, the sweetest showers
Will ne'er make grow again."

And so about the Mission workers. A dozen years hence volunteers may go out to honour their graves and follow their example. Why not send the succours now, while our brothers and sisters can be kept in life?

The Mission History closed in 1896 with a prayer to the Lord of the Harvest. It is time now to respond to His call—

"Here am I—send me."

CHAPTER XIX.

SLAVERY.

By MR. C. S. SMITH.

*H.B.M. Consul at Bilbao, late Consul at Zanzibar,
Retired Lieutenant R.N.*

A HUNDRED years ago Europe allowed slavery in her colonies, and submitted to the enslavement of Christians in countries as near to her door as Algiers. In spite of many engagements to the contrary, the Barbary States still held Christian captives in slavery. Even in Scotland the institution still survived, for colliers and salters had not yet attained complete freedom. No law against the traffic in negro slaves, or their transport by sea, had yet been put in force by any Christian State. To-day the laws of no Christian State allow slavery except in certain recently acquired districts in Africa. Salee rovers have ceased from piracy, and the African Mediterranean States no longer dare to hold Christian slaves. Slave trade by sea only survives as a petty smuggling. By the establishment of European rule slave raiding has been made impossible in large parts of Africa. And, though the tribes still prey on each other over great areas, the reign of law steadily spreads, and as it spreads imposes peace. Before the present century began there were objectors to slavery, but they were few. After it ends there will still be slaves, and no doubt slave raiding, but Christendom has done with the institution. This great

change in the opinion, law, and habit of Christendom must be assigned to the nineteenth century. Perhaps the twentieth century will witness a similar change in Islam.

Slavery existed as an institution in all four quarters of the world. It seems to have been widespread as the race of man, and little less ancient. From the taming of animals it is an easy step to the taming of human beings. A man's desire for a worker who shall be absolutely subject to his will needs no explanation; it is shown in classes as far apart as sweaters and schoolboys. A secondary reason for the practice is that it affords a ready means of removing obnoxious persons out of the tribe. There is no need to suppose that the idea of selling kinsmen was first invented by Joseph's brothers. On the contrary, the readiness with which Joseph's sale to the Ishmaelites appears to have been agreed to on all hands tends to show that it was no new thing. When ordered by the recognised authorities of the community, it differs nothing in principle from the slavery which our judges allot to criminals under the name of penal servitude.

But I must turn to the special subject of African Slavery. It appears that from time immemorial¹ slaves have been taken from Central Africa to the Mediterranean States, to Egypt and Asia. It was about the year 1470 that Christian nations began to export black slaves² by sea. Portuguese ships were then exploring the West Coast of Africa, and a Portuguese company began to carry slaves to Lisbon. In 1492 America was discovered. The West India Islands were occupied, the aborigines died out before the white man, and the need for labour brought

¹ Mr. Scott Keltie, *Partition of Africa*, p. 81. ² *Ibid.*, p. 38.

about a rapid development of the slave trade. By 1508 Spaniards were taking part in the trade. By 1537 the yearly import of slaves into Lisbon, the emporium for the West Indies,¹ had risen to between 10,000 and 12,000 slaves per annum.

Slavery was not, even at this date, accepted by all persons as being right. In 1540 the Emperor Charles V. tried to stop it by orders that all slaves in the American Isles should be made free. They were manumitted, but slavery soon resumed its sway. About the same time Cortés wrote in his will :—

“There have been and are many doubts and opinions as to whether slaves can be held with good conscience or no, and until now it has not been determined. . . . I command Don Martin my son and heir, and those who may succeed him, that in order to ascertain this they should take all necessary steps so as to discharge my conscience and their own.”

Prescott,² writing in 1843, says :—

“The state of opinion in respect to the great question of slavery in the sixteenth century at the commencement of the system bears some resemblance to that which exists in our time, when we may hope it is approaching its conclusion. Las Casas and the Dominicans of the former age, the abolitionists of their day, thundered out their uncompromising invectives against the system on the broad ground of natural equity and the rights of man. The great mass of proprietors troubled their heads little about the question of right, but were satisfied with the expediency of the institution.”

In 1562 Englishmen joined in the traffic.³ Sir J. Hawkins fitted out three ships, and took three hundred negro

¹ *Partition of Africa*, p. 61. ² *Conquest of Mexico*, book vii., chap. v.

³ *Partition of Africa*, p. 64.

slaves from Guinea to Hispaniola. This was the first of many expeditions. By the beginning of the seventeenth century slaves¹ had come to be regarded as the staple commodity of the African soil, and the desire amongst European powers for the monopoly of the slave market caused a great rivalry for the possession of West African colonies. The disgraceful war of 1665, which ended with the appearance of the Dutch fleet at Gravesend, was caused by an English squadron expelling the Dutch from their settlements on the West Coast.

During the eighteenth century the foreign slave trade was at its height.

“It would be difficult to estimate the number of Africans deported from the Continent from the time of the first European connection with it; but during the eighteenth century alone it was probably not less than 6,000,000. . . . Take it all in all, the profit from the slave trade during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was equal to that arising from gold, ivory, gum, and all other products combined.”²

Until near the end of the eighteenth century most people had thought negro slavery a very proper institution. The institution was recognised in the Bible, and of course Ham had to work out his curse. The pious John Newton, the author of “How sweet the name of Jesus sounds,” was a slave trader before his ordination,³ and it was common amongst religious people⁴ to look on the maintenance of slavery as an open question. The following extract⁵ from

¹ *Partition of Africa*, p. 66. ² *Ibid.*, p. 81.

³ “Afterwards he ‘gravely, though composedly, condemned’ the practice”—Stephens’ *Ecclesiastical Biographies*:—The “Evangelical” Succession.

⁴ I do not know how they rescued menstealing from amongst things “contrary to sound doctrine” (1 Tim. i. 9, 10).

⁵ Dated 1817. *Vide* Hertslet’s *Commercial Treaties*, vol. iii. p. 374.

a Spanish decree, prohibiting the slave trade, shows what many felt at this period :—

“The importation of black slaves into America was among the earliest measures directed by my august predecessors for the development and prosperity of these vast dominions within a short period of their discovery. . . . This plan, which did not originate the slavery already practised by the barbarous nations of Africa, but only availed itself of it with a view to save their prisoners from death, and to alleviate their sad state, so far from being prejudicial to the negroes of Africa when transferred to America, afforded them, not only the incomparable benefit of being instructed in the knowledge of the true God, and of the only religion through which that Supreme Being is desirous that His creatures should adore Him, but also all the advantages attending a state of civilization, without however subjecting them in their slavery to hardships more intolerable than those they had endured when free in their own country.”

However, towards the end of the century public opinion in England was rapidly taking up a strong position against the slave trade.¹ In 1772, in spite of previous authoritative opinions in the contrary direction, Lord Mansfield decided, in the case of the negro Somersett, whose master, Mr. Charles Stewart, sought to take him from England to Jamaica, that—

“The state of slavery is of such a nature that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, natural or political, but only by positive law. . . . It is so odious that nothing can be suffered to support it but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from the decision, I cannot say that this case is allowed or approved by the law of England, and therefore the black must be discharged.”

¹ *Partition of Africa*, p. 83.

African slavery was thus decided to be illegal in England ; but if the slave returned to the place of his slavery, there was nothing to prevent his reversion to the slave status.

“In 1787,¹ Clarkson, Wilberforce, and others formed themselves into an association to secure the abolition of the slave trade. In 1788 a Bill was passed in the British Parliament to regulate it. At this time the annual export of slaves from Africa amounted to 200,000.”

In 1793 the association just mentioned established a colony for freed slaves at Sierra Leone, manning it with negroes collected from Jamaica, London, and Nova Scotia, and a considerable number of white people. The original colonists were not happily chosen ; the results were disappointing.²

The first edicts forbidding slave trade were issued on the same day in 1792 by Denmark and Norway. The trade was prohibited to their subjects after the beginning of 1803. In 1794 an Act of the United States was passed forbidding slave trade to any foreign country. In 1807 an Act of the British Parliament made the trade illegal for British subjects, and a law of the United States forbade the import of slaves into the Union. Between 1807 and 1815 most of the other Christian Powers assumed a similar attitude, and on February 8, 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, the Plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, France, Sweden, Russia, Portugal, Prussia, Spain, and Austria declared, “in the names of their Sovereigns,

¹ *Partition of Africa*, p. 83.

² Zachary, the father of Lord Macaulay, was one of the first Governors. For interesting details, see Sir George Trevelyan's *Life of Lord Macaulay*, chap. i.

their wish of putting an end to a scourge which has so long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity." But it was left to each Power to choose for itself the time and method for causing its subjects to abandon the practice.

During the next seven years, seven of the eight Powers which signed the declaration of Vienna—

"passed¹ laws having for their object entirely to prevent the subjects of their several States from engaging in this traffic. One only, Portugal, still permitted it in its own territories and factories south of the Equator, but had prohibited the trade by its subjects north of the Equator; and all the maritime Powers of Europe and the United States of America, as well as the South American Governments, with the exception of Brazil, had equally by law prohibited their subjects and citizens from carrying it on."

But unfortunately the enactment of a law or the ratification of a treaty in the capital does not necessarily involve obedience in the corners of the world, least of all from such persons as are likely to turn their hands to slave trading. The progress made in suppression was slow, and in consequence the British Government caused the Duke of Wellington to bring the subject forward at the Congress of Verona in 1822.

The Duke of Wellington declared to the Congress that the traffic in slaves was being carried on to a greater extent than ever before: that he could prove that in seven months of 1821, 38,000 slaves had been shipped from the African coast, and that between July, 1820, and October, 1821, not less than 352 vessels (of which each would carry 500 to 600 slaves) had entered the ports and

¹ Memorandum of Duke of Wellington presented to Congress of Verona, 1822. (*Slave Trade Parliamentary Print, May, 1823.*)

rivers of Africa. He added that the trade was generally carried on under the flag of France. France was the only great Maritime Power of Europe which had not concluded a Treaty with Great Britain for giving to certain of the ships of war of each contracting party a limited power of search and capture of ships belonging to the other suspected of slave trade. He proposed that the Plenipotentiaries should adopt Declarations exhorting the Maritime Powers to proclaim slave trading to be piracy, withdrawing the protection of the flag from any persons, not natives of their respective States, using it to cover slave trading, and refusing admission into their dominions of the produce of Portugal and Brazil, where alone the laws allowed the slave trade; and lastly, that the other Powers should join with Great Britain in entreating the King of France to adopt some of those measures for putting down the slave trade which had been found effectual by other countries. The British proposals were not agreeable to France. The Congress therefore adopted a resolution which pledged no Power to more than inquiry.

In 1831 the French Government agreed to a Treaty with Great Britain, conferring a mutual right of search. In 1833 an Act of the British Parliament abolished slavery throughout the British colonies, and assigned £20,000,000 for compensation to slave owners. It came into force August 1, 1834. The slaves were to pass to freedom through seven years¹ of apprenticeship, but this

¹ The Government proposal was that all slaves should serve a twelve years' apprenticeship to their owners. Macaulay, who was a member of the Government, opposed this, going so far as to put his resignation in the hands of the Prime Minister. He said: "In free countries the master has a choice of labourers, and the labourer has

was found unsatisfactory both to master and slave, and a subsequent Act of Abolition conferred complete and immediate freedom. In 1841 Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia concluded a Treaty granting the right of search under stipulated conditions to each other's vessels of war, engaging to prohibit the slave trade to their subjects, and to declare it piracy, thus making general the laws already in force in Great Britain. But the United States Minister in Paris succeeded² in rousing French public opinion on the subject, and in convincing the French Government that the concession of a mutual right of search would be dangerous to

a choice of masters ; but in slavery it is always necessary to give despotic power to the master. This bill leaves it to the magistrate to keep peace between master and slave. Every time that the slave takes twenty minutes to do that which the master thinks he should do in fifteen, recourse must be had to the magistrate. Society would day and night be in a constant state of litigation, and all differences and difficulties must be solved by judicial interference." "The magistrate would be accountable to the Colonial Office, and the Colonial Office to the House of Commons, in which every lash which was inflicted under magisterial authority would be told and counted. My apprehension is that the result of continuing for twelve years this dead slavery—this state of society destitute of any vital principle—will be that the whole negro population will sink into weak and drawling inefficacy, and will be much less fit for liberty at the end of the period than at the commencement. My hope is that the system will die a natural death ; that the experience of a few months will so establish its utter inefficiency as to induce the planters to abandon it, and to substitute for it a state of freedom." Four years of the provisional system brought all parties to acquiesce in the premature termination of a state of things which denied to the negro the blessings of freedom, and to the planter the profits of slavery.—*From Sir G. Trevelyan's Life of Lord Macaulay*, chap. v.

² Lawrence, *Visitation and Search*, p. 44.

the liberty of the seas. In consequence the Treaty was not ratified by France. In 1842 the United States engaged with Great Britain to maintain a naval force of at least 80 guns on the African coast. In 1845 the Treaty of 1831 between Great Britain and France was superseded by a fresh Convention, by which both countries agreed to keep a squadron of at least twenty-six cruisers on the West Coast of Africa. These were to blockade in concert some 3,000 miles of coast. The mutual right of search ceased. After verification of the colours, no vessel of war might interfere further with a merchant ship belonging to the other nation. The Convention was to have been in force for ten years, but in 1849 it was modified, and thenceforward France was no longer bound to keep more than twelve cruisers on the coast.

Admiral Sir Walter Hunt-Grubbe, who served on the West Coast from 1845 to 1848, has told me that our squadron mostly consisted of brigs heavily sparred and canvassed. The slave trade to Brazil and Cuba was then actively carried on. From the former place slavers came in great numbers, they often sailed three in company, being content if only one got off clear. Generally speaking, they flew Brazilian colours or none. Every second vessel, or two out of three of those encountered, were slavers. Our boats were detached always, the length of cruise being governed by the quantity of provisions that could be stowed. They always cruised in couples and close in shore, while the brigs worked the offing.

By the year 1858 the Brazilian Government had succeeded in stopping the import of slaves into their country. In Cuba the Spanish authorities were not in earnest, and under the flag of the United States some 30,000 slaves

were yearly imported. The published reports show constant complaints that the United States did not maintain the stipulated squadron on the African coast, and that their laws were inadequate. If the flag was rightly assumed, and the ship's papers in order, no British cruiser might seize a guilty vessel. Again, if no slaves were on board, though all the equipment showed that the ship was on a slave-trade venture, not even a ship of war of the United States might detain her. However, in 1862, the United States agreed to a mutual right of search. In December, 1865, the constitution of the United States was amended, so that slavery ceased to exist. The Cuban authorities were brought to enforce the laws against the import of slaves, and in a very short time the transatlantic slave trade ceased. By degrees the different States of the new world decreed the abolition of the status of slavery.

In 1885 the duty of putting an end to the slave trade in Africa found mention in the Act of Berlin, and in 1889-90 the Representatives of seventeen States¹ met in Conference, thoroughly discussed this and kindred subjects. Their conclusions were embodied in the Brussels Act. As this Treaty contains one hundred Articles, it is impossible to do more than briefly summarize it here. It opens with a declaration that the most effectual means for counteracting the slave trade in the interior of Africa are the following :—

“1. Progressive organization of the administrative, judicial, religious and military services in the African territories placed under the Sovereignty or Protectorate of civilized nations.

¹ Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, Congo Free State, United States, France, Italy, Netherlands, Persia, Portugal, Russia, Sweden, Turkey and Zanzibar.

"2. The gradual establishment in the interior, by the Powers to which the territories are subject, of strongly occupied stations.

"3. The construction of roads, and in particular of railways, giving easy access to inland waters, and with the object of superseding the present means of transport by men.

"4. Establishment of steamboats on the inland navigable waters and on the lakes, supported by fortified posts established on the banks.

"5. Establishment of telegraphic lines.

"6. Organization of expeditions and flying columns.

"7. Restriction of the importation of firearms and ammunition."

Chapter I. of the Act deals with the measures to be taken in the places of origin. It is promised that the penal laws of each country shall be made to include all kinds of slave dealing and slave trade, and that on the continent any fugitive slave claiming protection shall receive it. It deals with the conditions under which arms and ammunition may be introduced.

Chapter II. treats of caravan routes, and the land transport of slaves. The Powers undertake to establish posts at convenient places, to watch that slaves brought from the interior shall not be sold or shipped from the coast, and to protect freed slaves, especially children.

Chapter III. speaks of the repression of the sea-borne slave trade. The provisions of existing Treaties granting reciprocal right of visit, search, and capture are restricted to vessels under 500 tons, and to a defined area which includes the East Coast of Africa from Quilimane northwards, and the coasts of Arabia, Persia, and Biluchistan. Any slave who may have taken refuge on board a ship of war of any signatory Power is to be immediately and definitively liberated, any slave detained against his wish in a native vessel may claim his liberty.

Chapter IV. relates to countries to which slaves are sent, whose institutions recognise domestic slavery. It is promised that slave traffic shall be prohibited and watched for, that fugitive slaves reaching the frontiers of such countries shall be considered free, and that Liberation Offices shall be established.

Chapter V. chiefly deals with the International Maritime Office to be established at Zanzibar, and the protection of liberated slaves.

Chapter VI. lays down rules for the traffic in spirituous liquors.

The Act of Brussels was ratified by all the Powers that signed it, with the exception of France, which provisionally reserved, for an ulterior understanding, the clauses relating to visit, search, detention, and trial of suspected vessels.

The space allotted for this chapter does not allow of any account of slavery in the North African Mohammedan States. It is important however to observe that on November 21, 1895, a Convention was signed by Great Britain and Egypt, of which Article V. stipulates that "every slave on Egyptian territory is entitled to his full and complete freedom."

It will be allowed that the history outlined above clearly shows the leading part taken by Great Britain in the movement of Christendom against slavery and the slave trade. Although neither public opinion in England, nor the policy founded on it by successive Governments, has been always equally steady and decided, yet on the whole during this century the repression of slavery and the slave trade has constantly been aimed at, and neither pains nor money has been spared. A naval force has always been

maintained in slave-trade waters. Its brilliant exploits have been many, and some have been recorded, but they who know the nature of the service will allow that these are surpassed in merit by the unrecorded patient performance of dull duty in boat work, under the depressing influences of bad climate, poor food, and monotonous loneliness. Diplomatic influence has constantly been employed ; its activity may be gauged by a glance at the Index to Hertslet's Treaties, where it will be seen that the mere enumeration of the slave-trade Treaties and laws in which Great Britain is interested (exclusive of those with African chiefs) fills thirty pages. As regards money, besides the constant charge for the slave-trade squadron, and the £20,000,000 voted in 1833 to compensate holders of slaves in British Colonies, £600,000 was given in 1815 to Portugal, and £400,000 in 1818 to Spain, as compensation for abolishing the slave trade.

EAST AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE.

For many centuries the East Coast of Africa appears to have been a source for the supply of slaves. Sir Bartle Frere said, before a House of Commons Committee, that

“Before any authentic Greek history it is quite clear that there was a very considerable trade on this coast.”

Sir R. Burton¹ says :—

“The Zanzibar slave depot is so situated that its market was limited only to the extent of Western Asia. From Ras Hafun to the Kilimani River was gathered the supply for the Red Sea, for the Persian Gulf, for the Peninsula of Hindustan, and for the extensive regions of the East.”

¹ *Zanzibar*, vol. i., p. 458.

In the early years of this century very little was known of the East Coast of Africa. In 1811, Captain Smee was sent to investigate in the H. E. I. C. S. *Ternate*. He reported that till then the English had had very little communication with Zanzibar, though the French frequently went there from the Mauritius for slaves and Mocha coffee. Previous to his arrival only one English vessel had touched at the island since Admiral Blankett's visit in 1799. Blankett heard that no British ships had been there within the memory of the oldest person then living. The infrequent communication would largely account for the delay which took place before any Treaty was made with the rulers of Muskat, to which, until 1862, the Zanzibar coast belonged.

The following is Captain Smee's description of the Zanzibar slave market. It continued unchanged until 1873, when it was closed. But as long as the barter of slaves takes place, so long must the incidents described by Captain Smee continue. I do not know that they are less odious for taking place in private.

"The show commences about four o'clock in the afternoon. The slaves, set off to the best advantage by having their skins cleaned and burnished with cocoa-nut oil, their faces painted with red and white stripes, which is here esteemed elegance, and the hands, noses, ears, and feet ornamented with a profusion of bracelets of gold and silver and jewels, are ranged in a line, commencing with the youngest and increasing to the rear according to their size and age. At the head of this file, which is composed of all sizes and ages from six to sixty, walks the person who owns them; behind and at each side two or three of his domestic slaves, armed with swords and spears, serve as a guard. Thus ordered, the procession begins and passes through the market place and principal streets, the owner holding forth in a kind of song the good qualities of his slaves and the high prices

that have been offered for them. When any of them strike a spectator's fancy, the line immediately stops, and a process of examination ensues, which, for minuteness, is unequalled in any cattle market in Europe. The intending purchaser, having ascertained there is no defect in the faculties of speech, hearing, etc., that there is no disease present, and that the slave does not snore in sleeping, which is counted a very great fault, next proceeds to examine the person: the mouth and teeth are first inspected, and afterwards every part of the body in succession." . . . "The slave is then made to run or walk a little way to show that there is no defect about the feet; and after which, if the price be agreed to, they are stripped of their finery and delivered over to their future master. I have frequently counted between twenty and thirty of these files in the market, some of which contained about thirty. Women with children new born hanging at their breasts, and others so old they can scarcely walk, are sometimes seen dragged about in this manner. I observed they had in general a very dejected look; some groups appeared so ill-fed that their bones seemed as if ready to penetrate the skin."

The first steps taken by Great Britain against the slave trade on the East Coast were in 1822, when an engagement was obtained from the Imam of Muskat, by which he promised to prohibit and prevent the sale of slaves to any Christian nation, and to allow H.B.M. ships to seize all Arab vessels loaded with slaves found to the east of a line drawn from Cape Delgado to Diu Head, passing 60 miles east of Socotra Island. In 1839 this treaty was confirmed, and on the ground that "the selling of males and females, who are free, is contrary to the Mohammedan religion," the sale of Somalis was made piracy. In 1843 the following measure, known as Act No. V. of 1843, was passed by the Indian Government. It has had the effect of bringing slavery to an end in the countries where it is law. I give it *in extenso* :—

"An Act for declaring and amending the law regarding the condition of slavery within the territories of the East India Company.

"1. It is hereby enacted and declared that no public officer shall, in execution of any decree or order of Court, or for the enforcement of any demand of rent or revenue, sell or cause to be sold any person, or the right to the compulsory labour or service of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery.

"2. And it is hereby declared and enacted that no right arising out of an alleged property in the person and services of another as a slave shall be enforced by any Civil or Criminal Court or Magistrate within the territories of the East India Company.

"3. And it is hereby declared and enacted that no person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any art, calling, or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift, or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property, or prevented from taking possession thereof, on the ground that such person, or that the person from whom the property may have been derived, was a slave.

"4. And it is hereby enacted that any act which would be a penal offence if done to a free man, shall be equally an offence if done to any person on the pretext of his being in a condition of slavery."

In 1845 it was agreed with Muskat that the export of slaves from the African dominions, or from Africa into the Asiatic possessions of the Imam, should be prohibited under the severest penalties. British ships of war might seize any vessels carrying on slave trade under the Muskat flag except those transporting slaves from one port to another of the African dominions, which were described as between Lamu and Kilwa. In 1850 the Imam authorized our vessels to destroy buildings used for slave trade and

to seize slavers in his creeks or ports. In 1862 Zanzibar and Muskat were separated, and the Sultan Majid was confirmed as ruler of the Zanzibar Dominions.

Up to this time but little had been effected towards the suppression of the slave trade in East Africa. Slaves could still be lawfully transported by sea from one part of the Zanzibar Dominions to another. During the months of December and January piratical Arabs used to arrive from the north. The authorities were quite unable to control their proceedings; in Zanzibar and in Kilwa these Arabs would make up a cargo by purchase and theft, and when the fair south wind began to blow about the month of May, they would be off with a full cargo to Arabia. The men-of-war on the station were few, they neither had interpreters nor boats specially adapted for cruising, and communication was slow and uncertain. With a clear start as far north as Lamu, it was hard if the slave traders could not deep clear of the cruisers. But the pressure of the British Government was unceasing, and in 1863 the Sultan Majid decreed that no slaves should be embarked save under permit from Zanzibar, which was only to be given to natives of the Dominions, and for the transit to Zanzibar. In 1864 he forbad the leasing of houses to northern Arabs, and the transport of slaves by sea between January 1 and May 1. Be it remarked that the latter restriction, even if observed, gave but slight inconvenience to slave traders, for they still had time to make all arrangements before the south monsoon blew with too great force.

In 1870 a Committee of the House of Commons examined the whole question. At this time the shipment of slaves amounted to 25,000 yearly; of these, the greater part found their way to Arabia, Persia, Egypt, and Somali-

land. The contraband traffic to Zanzibar and Pemba did not fall short of 12,000 annually. In 1873 the late Sir Bartle Frere was sent on a special mission to Zanzibar, but effected nothing. After his departure Seyid Barghash, who was then Sultan, yielded to the representations of Dr. (now Sir John) Kirk, the British Political Agent, and on June 5, 1873, ratified the Treaty of the same date renouncing the transport of slaves by sea, and closing all public slave markets in his dominions. The most important part of the Treaty follows :—

“From this date the export of slaves from the coast of the mainland of Africa, whether destined for transport from one part of the Sultan’s dominions to another, or for conveyance to foreign parts, shall entirely cease. And His Highness the Sultan binds himself, to the best of his ability, to make an effectual arrangement throughout his dominions to prevent and abolish the same. And any vessel engaged in the transport or conveyance of slaves after this date shall be liable to seizure and condemnation by all such naval or other officers or agents and such Courts as may be authorized for that purpose on the part of Her Majesty.”

In other Articles it was promised that all public slave markets should be closed, and that freed slaves should be protected.¹ A few months later the Sultan’s decrees were emphasized by the establishment at Zanzibar of H.M.S. *London*, an old line of battle ship well equipped with boats suitable for detached service in watching the coasts of the

¹ In 1875 a supplementary treaty was signed explaining that vessels were not to be condemned on account of the presence on board of “domestic slaves in attendance on or in discharge of the legitimate business of their masters, or of slaves *bonâ fide* employed in the navigation of the vessel.”

Sultan's dominions, more especially of the Island of Pemba, which, on account of its clove plantations, has long been an insatiable importer of slaves.

In 1876, always under Dr. Kirk's influence, Seyid Barghash issued decrees prohibiting the fitting out of slave caravans, and the bringing of slaves to the coast or transporting them by land, and freeing all slaves held in the ports of Merka, Magadosha, Kismayu, Brava, and Warshekr.

Seyid Barghash was a man of good sense. By no means a pliant ruler, he had in slave-trade matters largely followed the advice of Great Britain as represented by Sir J. Kirk, so much so that our Government found it advisable to help him to train and equip a small force of soldiers, giving him a present of arms, and lending the services of Lieutenant Mathews, R.N.¹ Having at command the services of a trained force superior to anything that could be raised against him, and having amassed a considerable sum of ready money, Barghash was able to improve on his position as *primus inter pares*,—the leader of several great Arabs who would resent too much interference,—and to become something very near to an absolute ruler. By 1883 he had made himself a name that was feared. He had shown his power by sending a force to Pemba to arrest the murderers of Captain Brownrigg² of H.M.S. *London*. The soldiers are said to have got out of hand, and to have committed excesses, but they arrested the murderers, notwithstanding efforts made to

¹ This officer has for nearly twenty years faithfully served successive sultans. By his services to them and to the British Government, he has become General Sir Lloyd Mathews, K.C.M.G., and is Prime Minister of Zanzibar.

² *Vide infra*, p. 417.

prevent them. Few Arabs would afterwards have ventured on any open resistance to His Highness, the more so that they knew that the Sultan's policy was also ours.

In 1883 the export slave trade to the north had ceased. On the mainland slaves were still brought to the coast, but secretly. The slave trade to the islands had dwindled to a petty smuggling. This happy result must be chiefly attributed to the well-directed efforts of the Sultan. The zeal of the Navy could not alone have achieved it, for though the presence of a naval force was most useful, indeed indispensable, yet those who ought to know estimate that its efforts did not stop more than one slave in twenty on the seas. Its value lay in showing what was behind Barghash.

The time had come to make a fresh departure. The *London*, which was rotten, was sold and broken up, and three vice-consuls were stationed on the coast in order to stop the slave trade by throwing light on dark places, and by assisting the further development of lawful commerce, then almost entirely in the hands of British Indians. Slavery itself seemed very near its end. Lord Granville, then Foreign Secretary, had adopted the view that abolition would be equitable and fair because the number of slaves introduced before the signature of the Treaty of 1873, and still surviving, was insignificant compared to the total number held in slavery, and Sir J. Kirk had warned the Sultan that the British Government claimed the right to require the liberation of all slaves illegally in slavery.

But great political events interfered. Germany began to seek for colonies in Africa, and until the continent had been partitioned little could be done towards the abolition of slavery. It is unnecessary to trace in order all the

political changes that have taken place. As regards East Africa, it is enough to say that the southern part of the Zanzibar mainland dominions stretching inland to Lakes Nyasa and Tanganyika has become German, the northern part has passed under an Italian Protectorate, and the rest under the British Protectorate. However, these years of excitement were not entirely barren even from the point of view adopted for this chapter. Any delay that may have been caused in reaching the goal of our 'slave-trade policy in Zanzibar has been more than made good by the extension of our influence in the Nyasa region, where Sir H. Johnston has for some years been steadily introducing good order, and subduing slave-trading chiefs. Also our officers have made their presence felt by the slave-trading states to the north-west of Uganda. We should hardly have undertaken the care of these regions had it not been for the emulation roused by German action.

In Zanzibar itself progress was made, for in September, 1889, Sir G. Portal obtained from the Sultan Khalifa a decree freeing all slaves introduced into the Dominions after November 1, 1889, and all children born of slave parents after January 1, 1890. On August 1, 1890, at Sir C. Euan Smith's instance, the following was decreed :—

“ In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

“ The following Decree is published by us, Seyyid Ali-bin-Said, Sultan of Zanzibar, and is to be made known to, and to be obeyed by, all our subjects within our Dominions from this date.

“ 1. We hereby confirm all former Decrees and Ordinances made by our predecessors against slavery and the slave trade, and declare that, whether such Decrees have hitherto been put in force or not, they shall for the future be binding on ourselves and on our subjects.

"2. We declare that, subject to the conditions stated below, all slaves lawfully possessed on this date by our subjects shall remain with their owners as at present. Their status shall be unchanged.

"3. We absolutely prohibit from this date all exchange, sale, or purchase of slaves, domestic or otherwise. There shall be no more traffic whatever in slaves of any description. Any houses heretofore kept for traffic in domestic slaves by slave-brokers shall be for ever closed, and any person found acting as a broker for the exchange or sale of slaves shall be liable, under our orders, to severe punishment, and to be deported from our Dominions. Any Arab or other of our subjects hereafter found exchanging, purchasing, obtaining, or selling domestic or other slaves shall be liable, under our orders, to severe punishment, to deportation, and the forfeiture of all his slaves. Any house in which traffic of any kind in any description of slave may take place shall be forfeited.

"4. Slaves may be inherited at the death of their owner only by the lawful children of the deceased. If the owner leaves no such children, his slaves shall, *ipso facto*, become free on the death of their owner.

"5. Any Arab or other of our subjects who shall habitually ill-treat his slaves, or shall be found in the possession of raw slaves, shall be liable, under our orders, to severe punishment, and, in flagrant cases of cruelty, to the forfeiture of all his slaves.

"6. Such of our subjects as may marry persons subject to British jurisdiction, as well as the issue of all such marriages, are hereby disabled from holding slaves, and all slaves of such of our subjects as are already so married are now declared to be free.

"7. All our subjects who, once slaves, have been freed by British authority, or who have long since been freed by persons subject to British jurisdiction, are hereby disabled from holding slaves, and all slaves of such persons are now declared to be free.

"All slaves who, after the date of this Decree, may lawfully obtain their freedom, are for ever disqualified from holding slaves under pain of severe punishment.

"8. Every slave shall be entitled, as a right, at any time henceforth to purchase his freedom at a just and reasonable tariff to be fixed by ourselves and our Arab subjects. The purchase money on our order shall be paid by the slave to his owner before a Cadi, who shall at once furnish the slave with a paper of freedom, and such freed slaves shall receive our special protection against ill-treatment. This protection shall also be specially extended to all slaves who may gain their freedom under any of the provisions of this Decree.

"9. From the date of this Decree every slave shall have the same rights as any of our other subjects who are not slaves to bring and prosecute any complaints or claims before our Cadis.

"Given under our hand and seal this 15th day of El Haj, 1307 (1st August, A.D. 1890), at Zanzibar.

"(Signed) ALI-BIN-SAID,
"Sultan of Zanzibar."
(Seal.)

As may be imagined, the publication of this Decree simultaneously with the announcement of the British Protectorate produced great excitement in Zanzibar, so much so that on August 20 the Sultan issued the following proclamation :

(Translation.)

"From Seyyid Ali-bin-Said-bin-Sultan.

"Be it known to all men our subjects with reference to what I wrote on the 15th El Haj (1st August, 1890), and put up in the Custom-house :—

"If any slave runs away from his master, or does anything wrong, punish him as before. If any slave does great wrong, kills any one, or steals, send him to the Liwali, who will punish him : you will see it and be pleased.

"If any slave brings money to the Cadi to purchase his freedom, his master shall not be forced to take the money.

(Signed) SEYYID ALI-BIN-SAID.

"Zanzibar, 3 Moharrem, 1308

(August 20, 1890)."

The measures taken by the Imperial British East African Company on the mainland coast must not pass unnoticed. It will be remembered that in the latter part of 1888 the stretch of coast just conceded to the German Company rose in rebellion. The natives on the British coast stayed quiet, but there was ground for anxiety lest they too should rise. The slave owners of Mombasa and the neighbourhood were seriously irritated by the action of certain missionaries who had given asylum to fugitive slaves in their stations some ten or fifteen miles from the town. The slaves declined to return to their masters, the masters were resolved to recover their slaves, the missionaries persisted in giving asylum. Mr. George Mackenzie, the Administrator, settled this dangerous difficulty. He persuaded the owners to look on their fugitives as lost property, and to execute papers of freedom in consideration of a compensation of 25 dollars for each slave. About 850 slaves were thus manumitted by their owners,¹ who received some £3,500 in compensation. The Company paid £1,300. The rest was made good from other sources. There were besides at the mission stations some 500 fugitives whose masters belonged to interior tribes, and did not appear. These obtained their freedom by the subsequent proclamation of May 1, 1890.

On nearly similar lines Mr. Mackenzie arranged for the

¹ January, 1889.

manumission of some 3,000 or 4,000 slaves, fugitives from their masters, who for mutual protection had formed a settlement at Fulladoyo, not far from Mombasa. In February, 1890, the Arab owners on the coast consented that any runaway should be allowed to redeem himself for 15 dollars. To help in raising the money the Company offered employment as caravan porters. Not many of the Fulladoyo runaways availed themselves of this opportunity. But the principles of a low price of redemption and of protection to the runaways were established.

On May 1, 1890, Mr. Mackenzie induced a public assembly of all the chief people in Mombasa to agree to a proclamation in which all tribes living for three hundred miles inland of the British coast-line were described as free and incapable of slavery. The proclamation was in general terms and bore a retrospective construction. It need hardly be observed that during the Company's administration of the mainland coast every Company's officer did his best to stop slave trading.

To return to the Islands. In March, 1893, the Sultan Hamed-bin-Thwain acceded to the throne of Zanzibar, and undertook to observe all engagements, and carry out all decrees issued by his predecessors. The status of slavery in the Islands will soon be a thing of the past, for both the late and the present Governments have pledged themselves to deal with the matter at the earliest moment.

SUPPLY OF SLAVES.

It is perhaps realized by few that the Washenzi (persons belonging to an inland tribe) pass their life in constant dread of attack. In parts they fear to have too great a harvest lest they should attract the attention of preda-

tory neighbours ; they prefer to go hungry part of the year.

Wars are of constant occurrence amongst the inland tribes, and slaves are made, but there is no greater stimulus and encouragement to bloodshed and man-stealing than the arrival of a Swahili slave-trading caravan from the coast. Equipped with trade goods (that is calico, beads, powder, coloured handkerchiefs, wire, turbans, and such like), and armed with guns, sometimes



A CAPTIVE IN SLAVE YOKE.
(Waiting for the Caravan to be made up.)

the venture of one man, sometimes the combined venture of several, the caravan arrives at a native village. Slaves and ivory are bought up, and further raids are encouraged and assisted. Whatever may be thought of the institution of slavery, presumably no one would defend that of slave raiding. A sleeping village is stealthily surrounded and suddenly attacked, the thatched roofs are set in flames, the frightened people fired on as they come out of their poor huts, the men shot down without mercy, and the

women and children seized and carried off. Those who escape the slavers fall prey to a lion or a leopard, or die of wounds and starvation, and their village becomes jungle. Such is the process which has been going on for many years. Where the reign of law has been established, it has to cease, as, for example, in British Central Africa, where Sir H. Johnston, with his Sikh contingent, has lately destroyed the power of the slave-trading chiefs, but of course there are still large areas where these things are not interfered with. I give the following from Captain Lugard's *Rise of our East African Empire*, to show what has been done even recently. A small party of slave traders settled in Mpata by permission of the Wankonde, a peaceable, agricultural people, rich in cattle. The slavers gradually made their villages strong. Living among the Wankonde is another tribe, the Wahenga. With these the slavers began to intrigue, promising them the land if they would help to seize the Wankonde. In unholy alliance they attacked village after village, shooting down the men, and packing off the women and children to pay for fresh supplies of guns and powder.

“At length these barbarities culminated in an act of singular brutality. The Wankonde who had fled were decoyed by promises of peace and friendship to a place near an arm of the lake called the Kambwe Lagoon. The banks of this bog were fringed with dense reeds, now dry in the hot weather ; its shallow water swarmed with crocodiles. The wretched Wankonde were treacherously attacked, and volley after volley was fired into the dense crowds of men, women, and children who had fled to conceal themselves in the reeds. To these the slavers set fire, and gave the wretched people the option of rushing into the bog to be devoured by the crocodiles, or of being roasted alive, or of coming out to be shot down wholesale, or captured and enslaved,

while their assailants climbed the trees to watch the butchery, and fire with more advantage on the terrified masses among the reeds" (p. 52).

Besides being obtained by raids and by purchase from native chiefs, some slaves are kidnapped. A woman goes out to draw water, and never returns. A child wanders out of sight of its parents, and is snapped up. Or again, a man may be sold by the community for some offence against the tribal code.

When the caravan has provided itself with slaves and ivory, the coastward march begins. I shall not attempt to determine whether the process of securing the slaves or of conducting them to the coast is the most cruel. Thanks to the establishment of British and German authority on the coast, it is no longer possible for large caravans to come down without being discovered. It seems well, however, to give an account of the ways of a slave caravan, because one may be permitted to doubt whether the supply will ever be quite stopped before the institution of slavery has ceased to exist. Besides, travelling in a slave caravan is an experience known to most of the slaves now in slavery, and has had its effect on many persons now under the care of the Universities' Mission. The manners and customs of slave caravans are not open to European inspection. The account which follows was taken from some sepoy discharged in the interior by Dr. Livingstone. They reached Zanzibar in 1867, when their story was taken down at the British Agency :

"We left Mataka with a slave caravan of about nine hundred persons. The slaves were yoked together in line with forked sticks, their hands bound; women and children were simply bound. We set out at daylight, and pitched camp about three

in the afternoon. The slaves were compelled to sleep in rows, head to head, under a central bar, to which the ends of their forked sticks were lashed; or they were arranged in groups of from five to ten in such a manner that their sticks could all be brought together in the middle of the group and lashed. They had to sleep on their backs, their wrists bound before them, helpless, and unable to move even to satisfy the needs of nature.

"They were fed once a day with boiled jowarree and water.



SHOWING HOW SLAVES ARE YOKED.

They were cheap: an adult cost two yards of common cotton cloth, a child one yard. They were urged, pressed on the march like cattle; beaten about the face and head. We witnessed many murders, many deaths; and the path was strewn with the bodies of those who had been killed. When we passed up with Dr. Livingstone, the road stunk with the way-side corpses; it was so again when we passed down. Every day we came upon the dead, and certainly we witnessed not less than a hundred deaths.

Men were either killed by the club, the dagger, or strangled. 'I, with my own eyes,' says one, 'saw six (at different times) men choked to death. The victims were forced to sit leaning against a tree, a strip of bark or a thong was looped round the throat and stem of the tree, pulled taut from behind, and the slave strangled. I saw not less than fifteen slaves clubbed to death by heavy blows between the eyes. Children were put to death in this way. I have seen a porter in mercy carry a sick slave, but some who were so thin and worn that they could not walk, and whose death was certain, were tossed aside into the bush. Others, who had been so mercilessly beaten that but little life remained in them, were unyoked, and with a kick and an oath thrown aside to take their chances in the wilderness. An infant, not long born, was torn from its mother's breast and pitched screaming into the bush. She was dragged relentlessly along. These things were done by the servants of the Arab owners, but always by the Arab's order.'

"The large and valuable tusks were not carried by the slaves, they were borne along by the porters or the servants of the Arabs; the small tusks, so light that they could be carried in one hand, were carried by a few, not all, of the slaves."

SLAVE TRADE BY SEA.

In former days the slaves could, on arrival at the coast, be openly shipped and taken to Zanzibar or elsewhere. For many years, however, the bringing of slaves to the coast and their transport by sea has been illegal, and the slaves have had to be hidden in houses and plantations near to the coast, until the means of taking them across the water have been prepared. There has also, I imagine, been a considerable increase of cultivation near the coast, and therefore an increased demand for slaves on the littoral. Of late years slaves intended for shipment have been largely marched by stolen ways along the coast until

opposite to Zanzibar Island, and then smuggled by ones and twos across the narrow channel in small dhows and canoes. Such a traffic is impossible to suppress if the inducement to it is high, and the inhabitants are, on the whole, in its favour. The method followed in earlier times, and perhaps, when opportunity offers, even now, was to charter a dhow, put in a few big stones for ballast, lay



A CARGO OF RESCUED SLAVES.

(From a photograph taken at Zanzibar.)

down sticks tied together so as to form a rough mat, and then cram in slaves—men, women, and children—a scanty allowance of food and water, which failed entirely in case of any delay, and then to sail for the destination. A slave dhow is only partly decked, so that fresh air comes down to some extent, but even with that the inside of a slave dhow is a bad place. Many of the slaves are diseased

after the privations of the march, and all are dirty. They are crowded and pressed together, and cannot get out of where they are even for a moment. As an example of how they are packed, the writer may instance a dhow 39 feet 6 inches long, taken by himself. In her were 99 slaves and about 20 slave owners and dhow's crew.

The islands of Zanzibar and Pemba, to which alone slaves have been taken in any numbers during the last fifteen years, are each in area about the size of Bedfordshire. The nearest part of Zanzibar is about seventeen miles, the nearest part of Pemba about twenty-seven miles, from the mainland. The channel that divides Zanzibar and Pemba is some twenty-four miles across. Nowadays the obstacles in the way of the slave trader are much more serious than they used to be. The watch along the coast has been improved by European supervision, so it is much more difficult than it was to successfully smuggle slaves. To show how severe the blockading service entrusted to the navy used to be the writer may observe that he, belonged to H.M.S. *London* one year and nine months. Of that time he passed some fifty-two weeks on detached service in boats. He sailed (or steamed) some 7,200 miles, and of 513 dhows sighted he boarded about 420 and made seven prizes. He captured about 190 slaves. The following account, extracted from the *Times* of January 5, 1882, gives a good idea of the methods by which the *London* for about ten years maintained with her boats a steady blockade against the sea-borne slave trade.

“There are many distinct classes of native craft, any of which may be used for the slave traffic, but all are by Europeans indiscriminately called by the one name, ‘dhow.’ The most common sort, properly called ‘betela,’ are, as a rule, from 35 feet to

45 feet long, and, perhaps, 10 feet greatest beam. They are built of wood, and are roughly but strongly put together. The fore and after ends are decked over, and over the centre of the dhow, as a protection for the cargo, a roof is built with a framework of sticks, and poles, and a thatch of plaited cocoa-nut leaves. These dhows have generally one mast, which rakes very much forward. The crew of the above-described dhow would consist of a captain, three or four sailors, and two boys. The captain is generally a



A GROUP OF ARAB SLAVE DEALERS.

(From a photograph taken at Zanzibar.)

fair seaman and a good pilot—that is to say, is well acquainted with the peculiarities of the coast about which he trades. The crew consists of natives of Zanzibar and the coast, and sometimes is partly composed of slaves.

“There are four ways in which the watch kept by our boats and by the soldiers of the Sultan is evaded, and by which slaves are brought into Zanzibar and Pemba: 1. A great number of slaves are shipped in a dhow as its cargo. 2. A cargo of slaves is

shipped in a dhow flying a French flag. 3. The slaves are shipped singly or in pairs in small dhows and canoes. 4. The slaves are made to pass themselves off while they are afloat as free. I will briefly describe these methods in the order in which they are mentioned.

“(1) When slaves are to be sent across in this manner, either from a coast port to Zanzibar or Pemba, or from Zanzibar to Pemba, a dhow is chartered, sometimes as much as \$12 per slave being paid as passage money. The dhow is prepared for the reception of the slaves by having sand or sticks laid down in her hold. No extra provision or water is considered necessary. The slaves are shipped at night, accompanied either by their owners in person or by their agents. These people are generally well armed, but for them to make any use of their weapons against our boats is the rarest occurrence. After the slaves are on board the dhow leaves as soon as possible. If the land to which they are bound is sighted by day, they generally lower their sail and wait till it is dark, when they again hoist their sail and run in till quite close to the land, when, as a rule, they again lower their sail, which makes them nearly invisible. They then quietly paddle in to the shore, run the dhow's bow on the beach, and land the slaves with the dealers who have come in charge of the cargo. If they have landed on the main island of Zanzibar or Pemba, their trouble is nearly over, for our men have not the right to search for slaves in these places. The slaves can be taken at once to their destination, or, if the Sultan's soldiers are in the neighbourhood, they can be hidden in the bush, and taken to their journey's end as opportunity offers. But if they have landed on one of the above-described off-lying islands, they are still in danger from our boats, as the crews are allowed to search these islands and seize any newly landed slaves that they find. In this case the crew clean the inside of the dhow thoroughly, so that no trace of her last employment may be left. They very often cut wood in order to gain the appearance of a trading dhow. The next morning the dhow sails into her port, and is very likely

examined on the way by the man-of-war's boat whose watch she had the previous night evaded. The safe arrival of the cargo is then made known to the consignee, who chartered canoes, which the next night go to the island and bring over the slaves who have been all day hidden in the bush.

“(2) I will now explain how it is that slaves can be transported in dhows flying French colours. There is, unfortunately, no treaty



SLAVE DHOW FLYING THE FRENCH FLAG. CAPTURED APRIL, 1893.

between Great Britain and France to enable our ships of war to examine dhows flying French colours with a view to their detention if they are found to be engaged in the slave trade. The utmost that our officers may do is to board them in order to examine their papers. If these are found to be correct, their proceedings can be no further interfered with, and no question may be put to any one on board. One vessel under the French flag was lately taken by the police of the Sultan in Zanzibar harbour

with ninety-four slaves on board. She was handed over by His Highness to the French consul, who has himself detained three or four vessels. But this officer being entirely without means at his disposal to observe the proceedings of craft at Pemba which bear this flag, it is clear that the permission so readily given to the Arabs to use these colours decidedly increases the difficulties attendant on the suppression of the slave trade. This system has, in fact, for some time neutralized our endeavours on the seas.

“(3) This method is, I think, only practised at night at the south end of Zanzibar, where the island is closest to the mainland. Canoes can cross and come back the same night, and, being very small and low, the men in the canoe can see the man-of-war's boat long before they are seen. I may here point out, without wandering from the subject, what a great advantage the slave dhows have in being able to choose their time for coming in. They also have only to keep a sharp look-out for the hour that they are in danger, while our men must keep their nerves stretched the whole six weeks that they are away from the ship.

“(4) By the above-described methods raw slaves can be transported by sea, but by the method which I will now describe only slaves who can talk Swahili can be taken. It is mostly practised between Zanzibar and Pemba, especially at the beginning of the clove harvest, when slaves are much wanted in Pemba. By a mixture of threats and promises the slave is made to represent himself or herself as a free person, and is very often supplied for this purpose with the ‘free papers’ which have been issued by our Consulate to another slave. The owner or an agent travels in company with the slave, who, of course, at the end of their voyage resumes his former position.

“Having given an outline account of the means used by the dealers to bring the slaves to the market, I will try to describe the way in which Her Majesty's ship, *London*, on her part, endeavours to stop this supply. The *London* is an old two-decker, which was in the year 1874 sent out to Zanzibar, where she has since remained, and where she fulfils the combined duties of

hospital, prison, factory, victualling-yard, depôt, and man-of-war. She is provided with a large number of boats, which are sent on detached service. These boats, five of which are steam, vary in length from 42 feet to 26 feet, and carry crews from twelve to six men strong, including always a native interpreter. They are armed with rifles, pistols, and swords. The larger boats carry, in addition, a 7-pounder gun. They are victualled from the ship, with often as much as forty-two days' provisions. Water for such a long period cannot be carried, although, by care and economy, the water received from the ship can be made to last for drinking through the whole time. For other purposes water can be got from the shore. The shore water should never be drunk—diarrhœa and fever are its possible effects, while the water from the ship, being condensed, is quite wholesome.

“Since the steamboats can only carry a very limited quantity of coal, depôts are formed on little islands on the cruising-ground, from which they can supply themselves as they want it. . . . The east coast of Pemba, it will be remembered, is nearly inaccessible; the boats are, therefore, kept on the other coasts. The boats are under the charge of a lieutenant, who has usually under him a sub-lieutenant, and, perhaps, a boatswain. The boats which have no officers are, of course, under the charge of their coxswains. The officer in charge sends each boat to a particular station to keep a constant look-out and to search every dhow that can be supposed to be coming from the mainland of Africa. The boat goes to her station, and when she is not chasing remains anchored. A constant look-out, day and night, is then kept for the whole forty-two days, or perhaps more, that the boat is at Pemba. The stations of the boats are frequently changed, and every now and again the boats have to go in to the watering-places to get fresh water, and to enable the men to wash their clothes and to buy vegetables if possible. . . .

“When a dhow is sighted, the boat gets under way to chase her at whatever hour it may be, unless it is convenient to go to her in the dinghy, which is a small boat for three men, about ten feet

long, one of which belongs to each big boat. Suppose a dhow to be sighted making in for the land at a distance from the boat too great to allow of the dinghy being sent to board her, the awn-



BRITISH MAN-OF-WAR FIRING ON SLAVE DHOW.

ings are at once furled, the anchor weighed, and sail made. On approaching the chase a rifle is fired across her bows to make her lower her sail. Supposing the people in the dhow do not hear, or do not choose to take any notice of this first shot, it is re-

peated until they do, each time pitching the bullet a little closer. The dhow's not stopping need not be proof of her being a slaver, for a trading dhow does not always like a delay of an hour, and if she sees a chance of getting off without being searched she will attempt it. Suppose, however, that on this occasion the dhow cannot escape and lowers her sail, the boat on coming up to her heaves to, and the officer or coxswain goes to the dhow in the dinghy with the interpreter and another man. If she is full of slaves, which is seldom the case, there is no doubt about what should be done ; but if she is full of cargo and passengers, then comes trouble. Every person who can be suspected of being a slave must be taken apart and cross-examined in order to prevent his being smuggled across in the way I have above described—for in the presence of the owner or agent a slave would be too much frightened to confess his condition. After the examination of all suspicious-looking persons on board, the cargo has to be searched ; that, however, can be very quickly done, as the officer can readily judge whether any one is likely to be concealed in it. I think that slaves are not often smuggled across in cargo. The dhow is finally allowed to depart when the officer is satisfied of the honesty of her proceedings, or is convinced that she is, as the blockaders express it, 'no good.' In the other case, when the dhow is full of slaves, the proceedings are much simpler ; of course, I mean when no resistance is offered. The resistance which resulted in the sad death of Captain Brownrigg is the first which has been made for many years. Arabs usually sulkily acquiesce and comfort themselves with fatalistic proverbs, such as 'God is great,' 'Praise be to God.'

"The arms are taken from the slave dealers and Arabs, and the slaves are fed and given water. These poor creatures are always hungry and generally ill-favoured. The dhow is taken to a safe place in Pemba, and put in charge of a prize crew of two men, while the slaves and dealers are all taken into the boat for passage to Zanzibar. Close packing cannot be helped. The writer has on one occasion sailed a distance of eighty miles in a

thirty-six foot launch with fifty-four souls. From having light winds this took over two days. Since many of the slaves were half-starved and all were very dirty, it may be readily supposed that he did not regret his arrival.

"On reaching Zanzibar, the slaves and prisoners are put on board the *London*, and are as soon as possible sent to the Consulate in order that the following case may be tried: 'Our Sovereign Lady the Queen against the dhow or native vessel——, her tackle, apparel, and furniture, — male and — female slaves,' etc. The Consul acts as judge, and hears the evidence given by the captors and the defence offered by the prisoners. If it is proved to his satisfaction that the vessel was engaged in the slave trade at the time of capture, or that she had been so engaged in the course of the voyage thus interrupted, she and the slaves are forfeited to the Queen, the dhow is burnt, and the slaves are freed. The prisoners are sent to the Sultan of Zanzibar, who imprisons them for periods the length of which depends upon the Consul's recommendation. It should be here mentioned that on detention the dhow is measured, and upon the tonnage thence obtained a bounty is paid to those belonging to the *London*, and to the Admiral on the East Indian station."



ALFRED, A RESCUED SLAVE RECEIVED BY
THE UNIVERSITIES' MISSION.
(From a photograph by Dr. Palmer.)



GROUP OF SIXTY-FIVE SLAVES CAPTURED APRIL 21, 1893, BY H.M.S. "PHILOMEL."

At the time when the writer served in H.M.S. *London* (1879-81), there had for some time been no resistance offered by slavers. Many hundreds of dhows had been searched and many taken without any attempt at defence. It was thought that the dangerous days were passed, and it was difficult to be always on the alert. It must be confessed that proper precautions were seldom taken by the boats' crews before boarding dhows. The writer himself captured five dhows full of slaves. They were all taken in hours of darkness, but on only one of these occasions, as far as he remembers, had he caused his crew to have their arms ready. Two of the captures were made in a little ten-foot dinghy, others in a twenty-eight-foot steam-cutter, but he never encountered more than a passive resistance. An impressive warning was in store for boat cruisers in the sad death of Charles Brownrigg, the much-liked Captain of the *London*.

Captain Brownrigg, the senior naval officer at Zanzibar, was a man of a very active temperament. From time to time he used to go away himself in a boat to inspect the boats on detached service, and whilst away he would board and examine any dhows he might encounter. On the morning of December 3, 1881, he was in the steam pinnace *Wave*, near Kokota (West Coast of Pemba). All told, his crew numbered nine Europeans and two natives. A dhow under French colours was sighted. Captain Brownrigg put on uniform, but did not let the boat's crew take their arms for fear of giving offence. I take the rest of the story from the Acting Consul General's despatch:

"The pinnace came alongside the dhow, whose captain was standing on the poop with a roll of papers in his hand, ready to exhibit them.

“The vessels were hardly together, and Captain Brownrigg had not had time to look at the papers, when the captain of the dhow gave an order, and her crew, who had been lying down concealed, suddenly rose up, poured a volley into the pinnace, and then boarded her. Yates, the coxswain, who was forward, with one foot on the dhow, was fired at, but missed ; he struck one Arab down with his hook, and then struggled with another until they both fell overboard. Little or no resistance was made by the sailors ; four were wounded by the volley, and the rest, being unarmed and taken completely by surprise, were speedily driven overboard. These saved themselves by swimming, though repeatedly fired at in the water by the Arabs. One man only, named Monckley, was killed at this time, and his body was not recovered. Captain Brownrigg, immediately on seeing the hostile attitude of the Arabs, had shouted out to the chief stoker, ‘ Full speed ahead ’ ; but this order, unfortunately, was not obeyed, and he was now left alone to stand the brunt and to defend himself as he best could against the Arabs, whose whole attention was now directed towards him. He had his sword, and had seized a rifle, and was standing in the stern-sheets abaft the awning or canopy. Three or four Arabs had jumped on the top of this canopy, and, having the advantage, were able to slash and hack at him freely with their long double-edged Omani swords. Captain Brownrigg shot two of the Arabs with his rifle, and then laid about him with the butt end, but he was soon blinded by a deep cut across his face just below the eyes, and his head and limbs were chopped and gashed in every part. The Arabs were so securely placed as to be almost beyond his reach, and he was consequently at a great disadvantage, despite of which he stood his ground for some time, making a most gallant and desperate defence quite alone and unaided ; and he even succeeded in dispatching another Arab by a blow of his telescope before he sank down exhausted under his wounds, when he was shot by the Arabs through the heart and then through the head, and fell dead on the body of his native servant, Tellis.

"Captain Brownrigg was a very broad and powerful man, and would, I have no doubt, have been able to hold his own and repulse the Arabs, had it been possible for his men to give him the least assistance. That he received more than twenty wounds before he succumbed testifies to the stubborn and vigorous defence he made against his antagonists.

"After dispatching Captain Brownrigg, the Arab crew endeavoured to sink the pinnace, but in this they failed. They then unshipped the rudder and attempted to destroy the machinery by firing into it. The boat was then rifled of its contents, the arms thrown overboard, and the body of a wounded seaman, named Aers, so mutilated that he died within two hours. They also killed another wounded seaman, named Bishop, who had taken refuge in the dinghy. The Arabs having finished their bloody work and disposed, as they thought, of all the boat's crew, returned to the dhow, and, having hauled down the French flag, sailed on their course to Weti.

"At this time the only man in the pinnace not actually dead or dying was Tellis, Captain Brownrigg's servant, who had been wounded early in the affair and had feigned death afterwards. He roused himself when the dhow had left and made a signal. Venning, the chief stoker, who was swimming about near, then came on board and got up steam. He then steamed to a reef on which the other survivors had taken refuge about a mile off, and after taking them on board, proceeded to the head depôt to report to the Lieutenant in charge what had occurred.

"Captain Brownrigg and the seaman Aers (the bodies of the other two men not having been recovered) were buried in the old English cemetery outside the town of Zanzibar on Monday morning, the 5th instant, with due honours and in the most public manner. Captain Brownrigg was greatly esteemed and respected in Zanzibar, and the regret felt for his sad death is deep and general.

"That such a daring and unprovoked attack should have been made on an English man-of-war's boat by the Arab crew of a

dhow not superior in numbers, and that it should have been so successful, is certainly matter for very great surprise, and the causes of it are worthy of serious inquiry and consideration. It is impossible to write authoritatively on the subject, until the statements of the Arab crew of the dhow, when captured, shall have been heard; but it may be proper for me to state what appears to me to have led to this act of aggression.

"The captain and owner of the dhow is known to have been one Hindi-bin-Khotum, a supposed French subject, who had shortly before been released from prison in Zanzibar, on the charge of slave dealing made against him being unproven. His dhow was so crowded with slaves that he knew it to be hardly possible for them to escape observation, and he knew that, should he be taken, he would certainly suffer a prolonged punishment for his offence. He was standing on the poop of the dhow as he approached the *Wave*, and he could not but have observed that the English sailors were entirely unarmed and helpless. It is admitted there was not a weapon amongst them. The deep feeling of revenge and hatred cherished against us by these Arabs at seeing their property in dhows and slaves constantly taken from them was aroused within him, and, Arab-like, unthinking of consequences, he could not resist taking advantage of so unequalled an opportunity. I believe that the attack was prompted by quick observation and sudden impulse, and that when the captain of the dhow explained his intention to his men and gave his orders, they rose at once, poured a volley into the pinnace, and rushed on board her.

"Captain Brownrigg clearly owed the loss of his life to his punctiliousness; out of deference to the French flag he refrained from arming his men in order to avoid any demonstration of hostility, his intention being firstly to verify her papers and the rightful use of the French flag, and then to act as he thought proper. Had he been less particular about his attitude in presence of the French flag, and had he armed his men, the result would unquestionably have been very different. The captain of the dhow,

knowing his vessel was so crowded with slaves that it was unlikely they would escape observation, and that capture was inevitable, thought it best to take the initiative instead of tamely submitting.

* * * * *

“I have, etc.,
“S. B. MILES.”

It was found on investigation that the dhow had no right to French colours.



ATTACKING A SLAVE DHOW.

The following is an account of an instance of gallantry not inferior to that of Captain Brownrigg, and more happy in its results :—Lieutenant Fegen, of H.M.S. *Turquoise*, was on detached service at Pemba in the ship's pinnace with a crew of ten men all told. At daylight on the 30th May, 1887, the boat was at anchor at Fundu Gap, a narrow pass between two islands. A dhow was seen approaching, running before the wind. Mr. Fegen sent his dinghy to board

her, but the dhow did not lower her sail, she steered instead for the pinnace. Mr. Fegen ordered the arms to be loaded and weighed anchor. The dhow began to exchange shots with the dinghy. The pinnace could not gather way in time to avoid the dhow. Mr. Fegen ran to the place where the dhow would strike the boat, calling on his men. A number of Arabs sprang up from where they had been concealed, fired a volley into the boat, and attempted to board with their swords. Mr. Fegen shot two with his revolver, then drew his cutlass and ran another through the body. He received a very severe sword-cut on the right arm from another Arab, who was in his turn run through by John Pearson, A.B. Mr. Fegen, backed in a very spirited manner by his men, two of whom had been shot down, continued a desperate hand-to-hand fight, fired on by Arabs in the after part of the dhow. The boat got clear, picked up the dinghy, and continued firing on the dhow with rifles. The dhow broached to and foundered in about two fathoms of water. Mr. Fegen anchored his boat and proceeded to rescue the slaves, firing on the Arabs on the shore to drive them away. Mr. Fegen and four of the crew had been wounded. The unhurt men busied themselves in rescuing the slaves. They saved fifty-three partly by the dinghy, partly by jumping overboard. Medical aid for the wounded could not be obtained for about ten days. One man, Benjamin Stone, A.B., died of his wounds. It was found that there had been thirteen Arabs in the dhow, of which nine were notorious slave dealers. In all there were upwards of twenty men armed with Snider rifles and swords.

For his gallant conduct Mr. Fegen was promoted to the rank of Commander. He reported highly of the conduct

of his boat's crew, especially of Russell, his coxswain, who fought gallantly to the end, though wounded early in the fight.

I have said before that resistance was very rare. If I mention the case of Lieutenant Cooper, of H.M.S. *Griffon*, who in October, 1888, was mortally wounded in boarding a slave dhow, I believe that I shall have exhausted the cases since 1879 when serious resistance has been offered. The sulky acquiescence in other cases proves that all slave traders have long recognised that the traffic was contrary to the Sultan's foreign engagements and domestic laws, and that these would be carried out. Their only hope has lain in secrecy.

SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR.

Once settled in his master's house or plantation, a slave is not usually badly treated. Cruel masters, no doubt, there are, but the occasional brutalities committed by them do not seem in themselves a sufficient reason for abolition. No one suggests that paternity should be abolished on account of the cruelty of some fathers. There are masters who turn out of doors a sick slave if they think he will not get well, but, generally speaking, the slave receives his due without difficulty. He is looked on as entitled to keep and clothing, on a modest scale, and when he wishes to marry his master will help him with the dowry which is paid to the woman's master. A plantation slave is given a house and plot of ground and two days a week to cultivate it. Slaves employed as fishermen, sailors, boatmen, caravan porters, town porters or *hamali*, domestic servants, artificers, and hawkers are entitled also to the necessaries of life, but they have to hand over the greater part of their receipts to

their masters. With regard to female slaves, many find their vocation in or about the harems of the rich, others



BOY CHAINED TO A SLAVE LOG WEIGHING 37 LBS.

(Rescued by the Rev. W. K. Firminger, July, 1895.)

Baptized at Mbwani, Cypriani Asmani.

work as coolies in coaling ships, as water carriers, or as cultivators. They assist in house-building by carrying

lime or by pounding the chunam roofs. I have said that slaves are not generally overworked. Exception must be made in the case of porters in native-led caravans, and, if report be true, occasionally in European caravans. Agricultural slaves in the time of the clove harvest, that is in August, September, October, and November, are also worked very hard. It is necessary that the clove bud should be picked before it opens. At other times, for example, when picking such of the fruit (mother of clove), as is required, the pressure is probably not severe. No work is so thoroughly disliked by slaves as work in clove plantations. Whatever may be said about the lightness of the task is seen to be beside the point, if it be remembered that the slaves are illegally¹ in slavery.

If the legal position of a slave be examined, it will be seen that by Mohammedan² law he has few civil rights. Without the sanction of his master he cannot possess nor dispose of private property, nor marry, nor sue any person, nor engage in trade, nor claim any legal or civil right, nor even take an oath in a Court of Justice; and, lastly, the children of a slave couple are slaves. The general result of these disabilities is that there is no incitement to a slave to be diligent or to do his best. Under such circumstances most men would be content with doing just enough to keep clear of blame. Being subject to the irresponsible will of

¹ I refrain from exposing my reasons for thinking that in the Islands 95 per cent. of the existing slaves are illegally held. The curious may find them on pp. 7-10 of *The Blue Book Africa*, No. 7 of 1896, which can be got from any bookseller for 6d.

² Mohammedan law permits slavery and regulates it. I am not aware that it enjoins it. To a Mohammedan the institution seems natural and necessary.

the master, a girl cannot be virtuous,¹ nor a man manly, and there is always the original injustice of having been enslaved, an act of violence that must continue to be perpetrated over and over again as long as slavery lasts. The sterility of slave couples is a serious symptom of the unwholesome state of slave society. Those who have considered the subject attribute it largely to unchastity. Also, no doubt, the fact that a slave woman's child (except for the decree of 1889) is a slave, unless the master owns it as his, discourages from the troubles of motherhood. The sterility of slave couples stands in marked contrast to the fruitfulness of the same tribes in liberty on the mainland, and of similar Christian² couples.

¹ This is a matter which cannot be treated at length, but may not be passed by. To a girl brought up in slavery chastity is impossible even before her childhood ends. I do not know that it is esteemed as a virtue by the mainland tribes, but it is impracticable for a woman enslaved by force for the simple reason that her body is not her own. The evil recoils on its authors, for it is in the close company of women with this baneful past (and present) that the rising generation of slave owners, both girls and boys, spends its early years. (See also *Life of Bishop Steere*, p. 316.)

² To show what may be expected under better conditions, I quote from a letter received from Miss Ruth Berkeley. "Miss Thackeray and I both think that native Christians have a very large proportion of children compared to slaves, but we are not able to judge as to whether they would have families equal to English ones, as our children have most of them been married for only a few years. We have several families of four under seven years old, but the mothers in many cases are very young and so do not take proper care of the children, so that many die of improper feeding or of chill. There is no doubt that when they do not marry quite so young, many more children will be reared than are now. We have one family of eight under sixteen years of age. One thing is remarkable, and that is that almost without exception the Christian women have *some* children, while it is very

Slavery, as it now exists in the islands, fails of its principal object. It does not insure a sufficiency of labour. Its effect is rather to hinder the supply, for its continued existence makes free men fear to come from the mainland to seek for work. The deterrent effect of the continued existence of slavery was visible during the late locust famine. In Zanzibar and Pemba there was plenty of food but a lack of labour. Sixty miles away there was plenty of labour but no food. But the labour does not seem to have gone to the food. The present system 'denies to the negro the blessings of freedom, and to the planter the profits of slavery,' and it will probably be better for every one when it is out of the way. It is feared by many that if slavery is abolished labour will fail, and that no black man will work unless he must. The writer has had black men working under his eye as servants, as sailors, as caravan porters and as cultivators. He does not think them incorrigibly lazy, and considers that they are more amenable to discipline¹ than white men under similar circumstances. The following is quoted from a paper in the *Geographical Journal* for April, 1896, written by Mr. Sharpe, now acting in Sir H. Johnston's place as Commissioner in the Nyasa district. It shows that negroes of

common for the slave women to have none at all." Freedom alone cannot be so efficient as freedom *plus* Christianity, but one may hope a good deal from it.

¹ The discipline of sailors, of soldiers, of school-boys, is well understood to be an art that has to be learnt. A man who confesses to failure is generally supposed to have the fault on his own side. It is not so with black men. A European, who has never before been in a position of authority, goes into the interior and quarrels with his porters. It is invariably the fault of the porters.

racés similar to those in servitude in Zanzibar are able and willing to work.

“With respect to this question of a supply of unskilled labour within tropical Africa, it has been stated that, judging from the experience of explorers and others who have spent many years of their lives in Africa, the negro will never be brought to work regularly except with a system of forced labour or under the pressure of slavery. This is in complete opposition to actual experience in the Shiré highlands. This district offers an object-lesson to all who doubt the native African’s capacity for work. The settlement is now some twenty years old, and has passed far beyond the experimental stage. If there is one question which has been proved thereby, it is that we need have little fear, in Central African Settlements, of a scarcity of unskilled labour, and also that we can depend, in course of time, on a certain amount of moderately skilled labour. Our experience has been that there are three stages of the labour question : in the first instance, when undertakings requiring unskilled labour are commenced, there is a scarcity until the natives have gained confidence in the new settlers, then there is a great flocking in of local people. After a time many of the immediately local men begin to learn skilled work, such as carpentry, timber sawing, brick burning and moulding, bricklaying, overseeing, bullock-driving, etc. They soon perceive that such occupations involve less irksome toil, have some interest, and command much higher wages than mere unskilled labour ; meanwhile the news that calico and other valuables are to be earned has spread, and every year natives come in from more distant districts to obtain unskilled work. These people agree to work for a fixed term of six months, at the termination of which they return to their own homes, simply because they want to make use of the goods they have earned and to till their land. It has been found at Blantyre that the same men return again and again in succeeding years. Wives and families have to be supported and looked after in Africa just as much as in our own country, and also the negro is, in his own

way, as eager about returning to visit his home as we are. Having by his half-year's work earned enough calico to clothe himself and his family, and to purchase what articles he may require, he sets to work to clear and plant his own food garden, without which his people would starve; probably in the following year he will come again to Blantyre or elsewhere for work. So far from there being any scarcity of labour in these regions, during the year 1894, in spite of the large increase of planting operations, more labourers came into Blantyre from Lake Nyasa than could be well utilized. The supposition that natives living immediately round the European settlements decline all work is an incorrect one. It is quite true that there are few such who can be relied on to do the field work of raw hands. . . . The labour supply in the Shire highlands has grown gradually with the demand. If there had been a sudden very large demand required at once, it would have been difficult to supply it. Thus it is possible that in railway construction in Africa some introduced labour might at the commencement be needed.

* * * * *

“With regard to the native. In districts around or near to our settlements, in place of constant warfare and slave raids he has peace and an appeal to justice; he lives in better houses than he did; he clothes himself in calico, prints, and in some cases European manufactured garments, instead of bark cloth and skins; he has formed permanent settlements round our stations, and is relying more on settled occupations; and he has also taken, as I have said, to skilled and regular work.

“Large numbers of children attend the Mission schools, and a considerable portion of the rising generation in the neighbourhood of the Missions are able to read and write. Native agriculture has increased, and some of the more ambitious have, in the Blantyre and Zomba districts, gone in for the cultivation of coffee and wheat.

“Native boys have taken readily to telegraph work, and I might mention that, at the time of my departure from Blantyre,

the telegraph office there was in sole charge of an African, who had been taught his work by one of our Sikh telegraph operators; and I have little doubt that, as the African trans-continental line is carried on, it will be found that most of the operating will be done by Africans under European inspection. We have also a staff of native heliograph workers.

"Natives are quick to follow a lead when they see it brings them profit. And although we cannot expect that Africans who have had little intercourse with Europeans will quickly settle down to quiet, regular occupations, it is a different matter in districts like the Shiré highlands, where for years past they have watched Europeans at work, and have begun to understand the idea of laying out work for a future large return. I know that many believe the African incapable of this. I thought so myself at one time; but it must be remembered that at Blantyre there is a generation growing up who have known the white man from their earliest youth—who do not look on him as anything new.

"Quite a number of Blantyre natives now have accounts at the local bank, and, having once grasped the idea that they can purchase future benefits by accumulating present savings, have taken one of the first steps towards permanent civilization. The African is not a fool in such matters; he is able to look after his own interests, and is not so easily imposed on as is sometimes supposed."

A further testimony on this point comes from Mr. O'Sullivan,¹ H.B.M. Vice-Consul in Pemba. This gentleman apprehends a scarcity of labour if slavery be abolished, and recommends what is practically a Vagrancy Act. He goes on to say:

"It would be necessary, of course, to protect and watch over the freed slaves, for in very many instances, doubtless, their former masters would endeavour, by terrorizing over them, to

¹ *Africa No. 7* of 1896, p. 46.

reduce them to a state of practical slavery, in which their condition would be well-nigh as bad as before their liberation.

"There is little doubt that after a while the freed slaves, finding that they must remain in the island, and failing to obtain other work, would settle down to agricultural labour, especially when it became clear to them that they would receive fair remuneration for their toil. Moreover, the mainland blacks, and especially those along the coast, would probably be willing enough to come and work in Pemba if they were assured that there was no danger of their being enslaved.

"Seychelles offers an encouraging example in connection with this question of abolishing slavery, for it has passed successfully through a crisis analogous to that which may be expected to occur in Pemba if the slaves in that island are liberated. The population of Seychelles, apart from the European element, is composed of freed slaves and of their descendants, yet no difficulty is now experienced in getting those people to work as agricultural labourers.

"During a visit which I recently paid to Seychelles I had the opportunity of visiting the chief plantations in the Archipelago. I observed for myself how thoroughly and well the general work of cultivation is carried out. The planters told me that the negro labourers are in every way satisfactory, and that they are quite competent, under supervision, to look after crops such as vanilla, coffee, and cacao, which require especial care, and to prepare the different products for the market. The labourers receive, on an average, ten rupees per month each for six days' work per week.

"The superiority of the free labour in Seychelles as compared with the slave labour in Pemba is very striking. I should say that the Seychelles negro is fully three times more efficient, from an agricultural point of view, than is the Pemba negro under existing conditions, and the chief reason of the difference is undoubtedly that the former is a free man, who receives adequate remuneration for his work, whereas the latter is a slave, who receives no remuneration of any kind for his enforced labour, and whose only stimulus is fear of the stick."

Opinions such as the foregoing are most encouraging, but it should not be forgotten that on the other side are found responsible officials who prophesy that the result of emancipation would be indolence and apathy, and who quote instances where labour has been offered but refused by natives. The view of the writer is that the positive evidence of cases where natives *have* worked should be given much more weight than the negative evidence of cases where natives have refused work. In the latter cases the story is never quite complete. It is not said whether the persons to whom employment was offered had work of their own elsewhere which they had to attend to, or whether the employer was over harsh in his methods, or whether the pay was sufficient. In short, we never hear the natives' reasons. All that is proved by the cases where natives have not accepted employment, is that if all slaves are emancipated they will not always work at the time and terms most pleasing to the employers. On the other hand, the positive evidence in cases where natives have worked are so many instances in which what is supposed to be impossible has been shown to be practicable.

When the history of the abolition of slavery and the slave trade comes to be written as a whole, it will be seen that the remedies hitherto used fall into three categories : external force, encouragement of commerce, development of the power of law. Without the last it may be doubted whether permanently satisfactory results can be obtained. The development of commerce cannot be dispensed with, for without trade a strong administration cannot be maintained. The present danger appears to be lest slavery should be retained from fear of hurting the commerce which, so far as British policy is concerned, was fostered

and favoured principally as an antidote to the slave trade.

September, 1896.

Since the publication of the foregoing the great step has been taken of abolishing the status of slavery in the Islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. The mainland possessions have been left for the present. The decree is dated April 3, 1897, and may be briefly summarized as follows :—

Any claims respecting alleged relations of master and slave to be referred to District Court, which is constituted *ad hoc*, and will enforce no rights over any person on the ground that such person is a slave. Any one proving loss from such deprivation of rights lawfully possessed before the decree will be awarded compensation, which will not be claimable by a creditor in respect of debts, for which the person of the slave thus freed could not have been legally seized. A person freed as above must show that he has a regular domicile and means of subsistence, and pay rent if he lives on another's property. "Concubines shall be regarded as inmates of the harem in the same sense as wives, and shall remain in their present relations, unless they should demand their dissolution on the ground of cruelty." If such cruelty be proved the dissolution shall be granted, and a concubine who has not borne¹ children may be redeemed with the sanction of the Court. Any person claiming under the decree may appeal from the decision of the District Court.

That the decree has limited the privileges granted to concubines has disappointed many persons, who argue that if slaves who are concubines had been treated as other

¹ Slave concubines who have borne children to their masters have already, in custom if not in strict law, the strongest claim to freedom.

slaves, those who are contented would stay where they are, whilst the discontented would be able to seek relief. But much may be hoped from the increasing liberality in the application of the decree which Sir A. Hardinge seems to anticipate,¹ and there is undeniable force in this gentleman's remark² that the institution of concubinage belongs to the borderland between polygamy and domestic slavery, in which the one blends with the other. The child of a concubine only needs the father's acknowledgment to be legitimate, and a concubine is regarded socially as in almost the position of a wife. She can be sent away at any time, it is true, but in this she is no worse off than a wife. The question of the position of concubines is thus seen to be, in a way, part of the far larger question of the condition of women in general in Mohammedan lands. It is easier to condemn what is amiss than to provide the right remedy.

The decree has been too short a time in operation for the full development of its effect. Published official reports,³ however, tend to show that the "re-adjustment rather than a violent revolution in the social economy of the islands," which has been the aim of the British Government, is in course of being achieved. Up to December 31, 1898, about 8,000 slaves had obtained their freedom under the decree, and there appears reason to believe that there has been a considerable improvement in the lot of slaves in general, with the result that in many cases slaves who would otherwise have desired freedom are content without

¹ *Africa*, No. 6 of 1898, p. 78.

² *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 84. See also Mr. Brodrick's speech in *Times* of January 14, 1899.

formal emancipation. Of course it is well known that before the decree many slaves would have refused their freedom even if it had been offered to them.

When the time comes to judge the effect of abolition of the status of slavery upon the landowner class, it must not be forgotten that at the time of the promulgation of the decree the Arab landowners had for many years been in a sad state of debt and ruin, and therefore would have found extraordinary difficulty in adapting themselves to the new conditions.

Jan. 21, 1899.

APPENDICES.

I.

HOME ORGANIZATION.

THE Home Committee have played such a very important part in the Mission, that a sketch of their position and work must be given.

**Position of
Home
Committee.**

They have never, in any sense, arrogated to themselves the power of ruling the Mission or cramping the action of the Bishops and Missionaries. But they have more or less vigorously provided the sinews of war, and organized the work in England,—acting as a “Providence” to the Mission,—from the first year, when they reported £1,610 7s. 4d. in donations, and £176 3s. 6d. of yearly income, to 1897, when there was a grand total of £32,125, which is declared to be insufficient for our needs.

**Formation of
Home
Committee.**

The first Cambridge Committee had for its moving spirit the Rev. William Monk, curate of St. Andrew’s-the-Less, who inaugurated the Cambridge Committee. That Committee called on Oxford to co-operate in the work, and named the Mission “The Oxford and Cambridge Mission to Central Africa,” thus paying a delicate compliment to the Sister University, and showing the generous spirit of Cambridge. Later on, the Universities of Durham and Dublin having joined in the scheme, it was for awhile called by the cumbrous name of all four Universities—a title which has happily merged in “Universities’ Mission to Central Africa.” The University of Dublin ceased to co-operate in the Mission after the first few years.

Its Work.

Less picturesque, but not less self-denying than the work of those on active duty in the Mission field, have been the patient, drudging, arduous labours of the Home Committee, which are a veritable “tarrying by the stuff,” such as King David considered as worthy of reward as the warfare of their fellows.

The Committee has had for successive chairmen, the Bishop of

Oxford (Wilberforce), the Bishop of London (Jackson), the Bishop of Carlisle (Goodwin), and the Bishop of St. Alban's (Festing); and as secretaries the Rev. W. Monk, the Rev. G. H. Smyttan, the Rev. Forbes Capel, the Rev. Cecil Deedes, the Rev. R. M. Heanley, the Rev. W. H. Penney, and the Rev. Duncan Travers.

The Constitution of the Committee has varied slightly at different times, but in 1895 was fixed as follows :

The object of the Universities' Mission is the establishment and maintenance of stations in Central Africa, which may serve as centres of Christianity and civilization, for the promotion of true Religion, and the ultimate extinction of the slave trade. In order to accomplish these designs, the plan of the Mission is to maintain in Central Africa, under the government of Bishops, both bodies of clergy and lay helpers, including medical men and artificers, European or African, capable of conducting the work of building and husbandry.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE HOME ORGANIZATION OF THE UNIVERSITIES' MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.

Constitution of Home organization. 1. There shall be a local Committee at each University taking part in the Mission, and a General Committee, all the Members of such Committees being in communion with the Church of England. The General Committee shall meet in London, and shall be constituted as follows :

(a) A Chairman, who shall also be President of the General Meeting of Subscribers, which shall be held in London in the month of May or June of every year.

(b) A Vice-Chairman, who shall take the Chair at the Meetings of the Committee in the absence of the Chairman.

(c) A certain number of Vice-Presidents, one of whom shall preside at the General Meeting in the absence of the President, viz. :

(1) All Archbishops and Bishops in communion with the Church of England, who shall signify their willingness to serve on the Committee.

(2) Six or more Subscribers chosen at a General Meeting.

(d) The Chairman, Treasurers, and Secretaries of the Committee at each University taking part in the Mission.

- (e) Fifteen Members chosen at the General Meeting.
- (f) The Treasurers and Secretaries.
- (g) One Commissary to be appointed by each of the Bishops of the Mission.

At the General Meeting those elected Members of the Committee shall retire, who have not attended three Meetings of the Committee during the year ending December 31st then last past, but they shall be eligible for re-election.

Meetings of any Sub-Committee, or attendances at the office on behalf of the Secretary, shall for this purpose count as Meetings of the Committee.

(h) The Clergy of the Mission when in England, who shall have the right to attend and vote at Meetings of the Committee after the conclusion of the Treasurers' business and any special business.

(i) Such Lay Members of the Mission when in England as may be invited by the Chairman to attend and vote at Meetings of the Committee after the conclusion of the Treasurers' business and any special business.

2. The General Committee shall manage the affairs of the Mission, in England, and shall make annual grants of money to each Bishop at its discretion for the service of the Mission in Africa.

3. The General Committee shall meet not less than six times in the year.

4. The General Committee shall appoint a Medical Board, and no Missionary shall be sent out from England who has not appeared before the Board.

5. No Missionary shall be sent out from England who has not been approved by the Bishop under whom he is to serve, or, in his absence, by a Board consisting of one clergyman nominated by the Chairman of the General Committee for the time being, and two clergymen nominated by the Bishop for the purpose.

6. Three Treasurers shall be appointed at the General Meeting, who shall manage the financial affairs of the Mission in England under the direction of the General Committee.

7. In the event of any vacancy occurring amongst the elected Members of the General Committee, or amongst the Treasurers, the General Committee shall have the power of filling up the vacancy until the next General Meeting of Subscribers.

8. The Secretaries of the General Committee shall be appointed by the General Committee.

9. The accounts of each Local Committee shall be made up to the 31st December in each year, and the balances up to that date shall be forthwith paid to the credit of the Treasurers in London.

May, 1895.

Whatever funds were raised in England and received by the Committee have always been placed in the hands of the Bishop or Bishops, who, at their own discretion, have used them for the various works in their dioceses.

The direction of the work in Africa was from the first **Constitution in Africa.** "vested in the Bishop and such English priests as he may have with him in Africa." This is so far modified that, now there is a native ministry, native priests have equal rights with others.

The missionaries themselves have (especially since Bishop Steere's consecration) worked without salary, except the merest necessities of life, at a common value and in a common home, and a small sum *to those who need it* for clothes and pocket money. This is undoubtedly the secret of the large number of first-rate men and women in all classes who have been drawn to the work. They first gave themselves for no earthly reward, and then offered their work. In the Central House at Mkunazini for many years the men and women workers had a common table, the clergy and laity mingling alike, with the Bishop only as superior. This has now been in part altered. Primitive simplicity does not always last, and in future there will probably be always a clergy house and a home—at present in the hospital—for women workers, the laymen living either in the Industrial Home or scattered among the stations as required.

The following paper shows under what conditions workers join the Mission staff:—

Conditions under which workers join. The Universities' Mission will gladly welcome offers of assistance from any who can give their whole hearts to its work.

The Mission has for its object the conversion to Christianity of the African tribes amongst whom its Missionaries work, and their advancement in civilization by means of education, and

by instructing them in such kinds of work as are suited to the climate of their country.

The Mission also invites well-qualified men to offer themselves for work amongst the large population of Arabs and Indians settled in Zanzibar and East Africa.

Thus there are wanted clergy, medical men, certificated school teachers, or ex-pupil teachers, ladies—both qualified nurses or experienced teachers—teachers of handicrafts, especially engineers, masons, carpenters, and printers.

The ladies who offer must be over thirty years of age.

Experience has taught that, generally, those only are valuable to the Mission who have learnt some trade, or who have been trained in some department of knowledge which will be useful in Africa.

Owing to the heavy cost of passage and the unsuitability of the climate, it is unadvisable to accept married men, except under the approval of the Bishops; and it is understood that any one who enters into a marriage engagement in Africa shall at least for the time cease to be a member of the Mission.

The Bishops are quite unable to offer any inducement in the way of salary or periodical holiday, ultimate pension, or temporal advantage of any kind; it is necessary that those who join the Mission should do so with the single desire to live for, and willingness, if it be so, to die in, their work, because it is Christ's.

Those who join as laymen must be willing to do lay work, and must not expect to be admitted to Holy Orders unless they show special fitness for the office, of which their Bishop must be the judge; and Bishop Smythies recently wrote: "*I wish it to be distinctly understood that no layman who could not be ordained at home must come out here expecting ordination.*"

The Bishops are only able to offer to their fellow-workers *who may need the help*:

I. A free passage to Africa.

II. Board, lodging, and necessities during their stay in Africa.

III. Outfit allowance, £25; £3 to £5 journey money, and £5 on arrival at Zanzibar; then from the *end of first year after landing*, an allowance of £20 annually for clothes and small personal expenses. These allowances are to meet actual and current needs, and it is not intended that they shall accumulate.

IV. A passage home, should health require it, at the end of three or five years' work, or at any time at which it may become necessary

to return through ill-health ; but this must not be understood to mean that every one is to return to England for rest after three years' work.

V. Special arrangements to meet special circumstances may be made by the Committee on the recommendation of the Bishops or their Commissaries.

The climate of Central Africa necessitates the fullest inquiry into the health of all candidates for service in the Mission. With this object the following regulations will be observed :

1. Candidates must fill up a paper of questions about their present and past state of health, as a preliminary to passing the Medical Board appointed to examine all candidates.
2. They must also provide themselves with medical certificates of their previous health and constitution.
3. They will further be expected to supply the names and addresses of two friends, to whom application may be made, in confidence, as to their usual apparent health, and their fitness for service in the Mission.

II.

METHODS OF MISSION WORK.

THE methods by which the work is carried on will be found scattered here and there through the history ; but to the student of mission work it may be useful to put down some definite information in one place.

The methods are of four kinds :

- I. Those adopted in England for supporting the work.
- II. The Home training of missionaries.
- III. Methods adopted in Africa for carrying on the work.
- IV. The training of the native ministry.

I. SUPPORT OF THE WORK IN ENGLAND.

Foremost of all we put the *Prayer Union*. In 1867 Bishop Tozer sanctioned a form of service which had been drawn up for the use of two Parochial Associations, and the Bishop of Oxford became President of the "Central African Mission Union," of which the Rev. W. L. B. Cator was the Secretary. The members pledged themselves to—

(1) Frequent prayer on behalf of the Mission, and special remembrance of it at Holy Communion on Christmas Day and Whitsunday.

(2) The frequent use of the prescribed form.

(3) The payment of a yearly subscription of from a penny to half a crown.

This Union still continues under the name of "*The Universities' Mission Prayer Union*." Its rule now prescribes the collect of the Mission to be used *daily*. The remembrance at Holy Communion includes St. Bartholomew's Day. The Union numbers about 1,000 members.

A further development is the Guild of St. Boniface, the members of which only promise to pray for the Mission, but there is no daily collect; and they either give to or work for the Mission. It is chiefly recruited from the western districts of England.

A quarterly leaflet of special intercessions is also inserted in *Central Africa* for optional use.

It is much to be hoped that this by far the most important method of mission work will be made more and more a reality by all friends of the Mission, remembering how those so far away depend upon our prayers. It will be enough to call to remembrance the fact that from the first Day of Intercession for Foreign Missions the Universities' Mission has *never* been at such a low ebb for workers again, and that within a twelvemonth the Zanzibar slave market was closed, and its site bought and given for the church, to prove the overwhelming importance of this method of work.

A further method of exciting interest was the starting of the "Children's Fund," apart from the General Fund. By this individuals, or parishes, or mission associations, paying £7 per annum, become the patrons of a child, whose support in one of the Mission Schools they entirely provide. This idea is built on the great principle of *individuality*. Great as is the grace of giving to God for the use of Missions throughout the world, or in a particular country or district, with no stipulation how or where the money goes, yet many persons, especially children, can better grasp the idea of one individual to be benefitted, soul and body, by their gift. In this case we regard the money as given equally to God, but for the benefit of one. And He Who has said, "All souls are Mine," and Who cares for each as if there were none other to claim His love, will surely—nay, has assuredly—blessed these efforts on behalf of the separate lambs of His fold. Some idea of the extent of its work may be gathered from the fact that in 1898 as much as £4,128 was collected for this purpose, under the management of Miss Randolph, the Secretary of the Fund.

A subsidiary branch of this part of the work is the *Coral League*, established by Miss Clara Herring in 1890, which now numbers 17,000 workers. The name proclaims its root idea. It is for those who can do a very little. As each coral polyp, if it built for itself alone and apart from others, would leave a comparatively useless work, to be swept away hither and

thither like the sand of the sea, so each worker's mite, applied separately, would be of little value ; but built together with the work of thousands of others, a firm and enduring home for beings other than themselves is raised from the waves, a likeness of the substantial work done by the Coral League, which now supports sixty children in the Mission.

In addition to these there are other special efforts made in aid of the work, notably the Hospital or Drug Fund, which raises about £400 annually for supplying medicines and sick comforts to the Mission stations ; and the Ladies' Association, for maintaining such women teachers as are without patrons, and for providing school and needlework materials for the girls.

II. THE TRAINING OF MISSIONARIES IN ENGLAND.

This has been felt to be a need in all foreign mission work, as our colleges at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, Dorchester, Warminster, and others testify ; and from all these, good and useful workers have joined the Universities' Mission Staff. But these colleges train almost entirely with a view to Holy Orders, whereas the lay staff (including ladies) outnumbers the clerical staff. And lay workers of both sexes do not by nature understand foreign mission work any more than the clergy do. In other words, special training is even more essential for the laity than for the clergy.

To meet this need the Society of the Sacred Mission has been formed. The following account of this new departure, which trains laymen without any view to Holy Orders (except in certain cases), is from the pen of Father Kelly, the Superior :

"In 1890, before Bishop Corfe left for Corea, being strongly moved by his love for young men and his desire to see them engaged in the service of the Church, he left one of his priests behind in England to devote himself to the work of their training and preparation. The special principles by which the attempt was to be distinguished were, at first, men should be received, and not only trained, but entirely maintained during the process without charge, if they were anxious to give themselves to unpaid work, to live in celibacy, and not to seek ordination unless ordered to do so. The principles of the Corean Mission were substantially those that had been so long in use in the U.M.C.A. ; and the principle upon which men were accepted for the latter were to be those of this Home, except that the men should be such as desired

to give themselves not for a time, but for life. The House was started in January, 1891, as the Corean Missionary Brotherhood, with three students. In the autumn a letter in the Church papers brought an immense number of replies; and although the larger number of these were contented with their first inquiry, more remained than could be accepted by Corea alone. A visit from Mr. Travers led to an offer on the part of the U.M.C.A. to maintain six of these candidates for two years, the money being offered to the Mission by one of its members through the Secretary. In 1892 only three candidates were immediately forthcoming; three more joined at the beginning of 1893. In 1892 Bishop Smythies paid his first and rather short visit to the House, and early in the following year Mr. Russell went out as printer to Mágila.

"Up to this time the house had gone on as a training home only, although the members were living under what was practically religious discipline; but in 1893 the step that had long been foreseen was taken. Some of the members were anxious that this life should not cease for them when they went out to their work.

"In May a carefully prepared scheme was started. The Bishop of Corea had always urged that the work should be in no way limited to his diocese, and the general name of "The Society of the Sacred Mission" was taken.

"The first novitiates began in May. Scarcely had it been started when it was evident that this coincided with a strong movement in the same direction in the mission field. A longing for a closer bond had been felt by many, and, with the consent and encouragement of the Bishop, it seemed desirable that advantage should be taken of this new organization. The difficulties of forming a Society for a single diocese like Central Africa were too great to be faced. Rev. H. Woodward entered into correspondence with the Rev. Mr. Kelly, who had been appointed to direct the work from the beginning. The Bishop promised that Mágila should be the headquarters of the Society in the Zanzibar diocese. Rev. H. W. Woodward's arrival in England was delayed, and in the meanwhile the Bishop's death prevented further development of the scheme. Mr. Woodward, however, entered the Society as a novice on arriving in England at Easter, 1894, and made his profession in October in the same year. Early in 1895 there were six men trained in this house who had gone out, and one has gone out since; two of these only were members of the Society, it being a principle of the work that, provided men accepted the three primary obligations, they were not bound to join the Society unless they wished to do so."

III. METHODS OF THE WORK IN AFRICA.

One of the great features of this Mission has been its Lay Helpers. large employment of Lay help, and of Lay helpers who do not look on it as a step to Holy Orders. This has been the case ever since Mr. Waller accompanied the first bishop, with the twofold

object of taking the "serving of tables" off the hands of the clergy, and of teaching the arts of peace to the natives.

The work of these Laymen has been very various. Occasionally, as, for instance, in the case of Mr. Mercer and Mr. Wm. Bishop, it has ended in their preparing for Holy Orders. Sometimes, as in the case of Mr. Joseph Williams, their work has been quasi-clerical, as when he was left in charge of the station at Chisumulu. At other times they have acted as schoolmasters. But much oftener they have undertaken the teaching of various arts, such as printing, carpentering, building, etc. It must not be supposed that the clergy, from the Bishop downwards, have been set free from these duties, for, as we know, they often have to superintend and even actively assist, in such work, but to a large extent the Lay helpers take these duties from them.

We must not forget the medical help given by such men as Dr Dickenson, Dr. Petrie, Dr. Ley, or Dr. Robinson; or the invaluable linguistic work of Mr. Arthur Madan. It can never be too widely made known that the Church needs such men as certificated schoolmasters, engineers, and seamen for the navigation of the Mission vessels, storekeepers accustomed to keep accounts and order supplies, carpenters and those skilled in all that is needed for house building, printers, etc.

The storekeeping is a most important work. Without care, an up-country Mission Station may be left without some necessary or comfort of life for long periods. When packing cases arrive from Europe, everything has to be looked through, and then repacked for transit up country into parcels not too large to be carried by a porter. All this takes time and care, well bestowed, but quite unsuitable for a priest, who should be teaching and serving the temple and not tables.

Lady
Workers.

Lady workers have always been too few for the needs of the work. It has been difficult to employ them in Stations far inland, where in the hour of peril they must be a source of anxiety to those at the head of the Mission. Dr. R. W. Cust, till lately on the committee of the C.M. Society, whose members have never shrunk from martyrdom, speaking on this point, says that ladies, whether as wives or as single women, may in these cases be an encumbrance to the missionary.

"He is like the captain of a ship, the soldier on a campaign, the explorer

of unknown countries, and should not be weakened in the hour of peril by considerations calculated to unnerve him. Women are quite as dauntless, quite as full of high enthusiasm, as men; but in savage countries they are exposed by the law of Nature to a double form of death. . . . It appears to me wickedness to expose them to such contingencies. . . . It should be a rule absolute that as regards Equatorial Africa, no women should be allowed to be sent to a Station in the interior."

This does not apply to work in Zanzibar, or in tolerably settled places in the interior; and ladies have worked, and can very well work, at Likoma, and in the Bondé district, in its present settled state.

The work of such ladies as Miss Thackeray, Miss Mothering the Little Ones. Mills, the Miss Berkeleys, Miss Eleanor Bennett, Miss Townsend, and Mrs. Key, the St. Raphael's sisters, and the ladies at Likoma, cannot be thought of too highly. Their work does not appear, perhaps, as often in the Mission records, for the task of the true helpmeet lies behind that of others, but its influence, if less seen, is surely felt. What our lads who enter Kiungani or the Industrial Home would be without the kindly care of Miss Mills and her assistants, we know, from the extra hardness of dealing with those who have come under the Mission too late for her home. To give these motherless ones a feeling of home, to teach them something of mother's love, is an influence which could hardly be spared out of their lives.

And no less important is the careful training of the Training Native Girls. girls and women as wives and as teachers. This work has already been dealt with in chapters xv. and xvii., and we need only add that the complex problems of our Christian boys marrying heathen wives will never be solved as long as heathen custom retains its hold on the national mind. When Christianity becomes the ruling force, and heathendom is declining, mixed marriages may even be productive of good. At present they are the reverse. The heathen wife drags her husband into degrading rites. She sees no difficulty in polygamy, and in many tribes she could, under certain circumstances, divorce her husband, or at least insist on living with her own people, whether his work lies at a distance or not. All these difficulties can only be overcome by providing a sufficiency of Christian girls for wives to the Christian men. A Christian marrying a heathen is now put under Church censure till his wife becomes a catechumen

Industrial
work.

The industrial work has already been treated of, but a note of warning struck by the Rev. W. P. Johnson, writing to the Rev. Horace Waller, may here be given. He thinks we may direct our training too much to work useful to Europeans, rather than to work which helps the natives themselves.

“There is a way of introducing industrial work by encouraging work that the natives can do themselves for themselves. I admit and emphasize that they do not and will not come up to a high standard of skilled labour, but I consider that it is producing native character at the same time as it produces manufactures in a way no work under Europeans can do. . . . The chief advantage would be, useful and skilled work for natives to do among natives, and at their own homes. So that their relatives can see, and it would be for the benefit of natives. . . . Nearly all present carpentering, brick-making, etc., is to make things for Europeans to use,—very right and proper, but not likely to produce enthusiasm amongst natives as work for themselves would. . . . Now if we had funds and sympathy, I should propose to find and extend such home work ; *e.g.*, why not have a short telegraph service between some of our lakeside villages? The cost would be £120 (we have a native instructor), and it would provide the telegraph people with boys who had tried and found they liked the work at home under the Mission’s superintendence. Land surveying and work of that kind would be work well worth doing, which would have to be done on the spot, and of a kind the natives would understand, but we have no instructor. The hurrying away of boys from their homes, and then from their families, is at any time an evil if done without consideration, but a greater one when the boys have had no training for their future work, and their relations have no sympathy with it.”

The East
African
Church a
native one,
not an exotic.

This letter forms a good introduction to the remark that it has always been the desire of this Mission to educate the natives to live their native life, with its African surroundings, and not to turn them into Europeans with a thousand wants foreign to their nature. Christianity is a plant which will grow in any soil, and can adapt itself to any climate. To purify, not to destroy, to elevate rather than to alter, has been its mission, and hence it is that in the East each national Church—the Syrian, Armenian, Coptic, or the Greek—retained its native customs, and was not a copy of Jewish customs transplanted from Palestine. The Roman kept all his vigour and order, but was too apt to try to graft his national customs and character on the western world, in a way that the wise old conquering Latin race did not pursue with its foreign provinces, and which the greatest of

Roman Christians—"Gregory, our father, who sent us baptism"—did not approve of for the conversion of England. Our national character, however, asserted itself, and no Church in the world is more intensely national than ours. Let us then beware, lest, as Bishop Steere said, we make a mere feeble copy of our own Church, instead of a national African Church.

"We felt that an exotic Church was a thing that would perish before any cold blast, and that it was necessary to put it upon a sound native basis. We have, therefore, from the first set our faces steadily against the denationalization of the people of Africa."

Into every detail of life this principle is carried. Customs that are sinful or degrading are to be put away. But for the rest, heathen chiefs are to be obeyed. Native Christians may engage in tribal wars, and are often held to fight better than others. Native dress, or one approximating as closely as possible to native dress, is provided. Native clergy and laity alike eat native food cooked in native ways. Native methods of agriculture, house-building, etc., are encouraged, and, where it may be so, improved. Alas! that Europeans cannot live without their luxuries. But the people are taught that each nation follows its own customs, and so the African is to remain a robust African, and not become a degenerate imitation of the European.

IV. TRAINING A NATIVE MINISTRY.

From the days when John Swedi and his friends were set apart for the sub-diaconate, there have always been some youths under training for the ministry. At first it was impossible for them to be entirely trained in Africa, and hence, after careful teaching at Kiungani, and after a trial post on the mainland, they were sent to England to complete their studies. Thus, Cecil Majaliwa was trained at English Training. St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and Petro Limo at Dorchester, with the happiest results. But others came to England who did not turn out so well, and as a better and larger staff could be spared for Kiungani, the theological teaching was carried further, and it became not only unnecessary but inadvisable to send the boys to England because—

- (1) It cost more.
- (2) It took them away from African surroundings and habits.

(3) As a consequence it taught them the use of luxuries, which neither they nor their future flocks could afford.

On the other hand, perhaps, an English education gave them a better education more easily, and a certain knowledge of the world which, to some of them, might possibly be useful.

The Theological course at Kiungani is much the same as that known as the Cambridge Voluntary Examination, and is quite as searching as that at most of our theological colleges, and there is the immense advantage of being able to test the moral fibre of the students by periods of work among their own folk.

The following is a complete list of the native clergy in December, 1898.

PRIESTS.		DEACONS.	
	Ordained.		Ordained.
The Rev. Cecil Majaliwa	... 1886.	The Rev. John Swedi	... 1879.
„ „ Petro Limo	... 1893.	„ „ Denys Seyiti	... 1893.
„ „ Samuel Sehoza	... 1894.	„ „ Cypriani Chitenje...	1895.
„ „ Yohanna Abdallah	„	„ „ Daudi Machina	... „
		„ „ Hugh Swinton Mtoka	„
		„ „ John Baptist Mdoe	1897.
		„ „ Augustine Ambali	1898.
		„ „ Eustace Malisawa	„
		„ „ Samwil Chiponde	„

The following particulars from the pen of Mr. Madan may be partly a repetition of much that has already been given in former pages, but it may fitly find a place here :—

“St. Andrew’s College, Kiungani, consists of a large block of stone buildings, standing on a slight eminence close to the sea, about a mile south of the city of Zanzibar.

“The original house was bought, with a few acres of ground surrounding it, by Bishop Tozer in 1867, and was soon made the home of the boys rescued from slave dhows by British cruisers and handed over by the Consul to the care of the Mission.

“For years almost all the boys at Kiungani were obtained from this source—victims of the slave trade—the waifs and strays of the Dark Continent. From the first the main object in view was the selection and training of the most promising to be the future teachers and clergy of their fellow-Africans. But such material could not be expected to yield large results, and the means of

dealing with it effectively were, in the earlier stages of the Mission's history, not to be had. Since the establishment of the Mission's stations on the mainland, a small but steadily-increasing number of selected scholars from their schools has been sent down to Kiungani, and has had its effect in raising the level of the whole.

"But it is only since 1884 that Kiungani has taken definite shape as primarily not a reformatory or industrial home, or even school, but a college whose one object and aim is to give the highest and widest possible education to native candidates for Holy Orders. This aim does not include—indeed it necessitates—the reception and teaching of a large miscellaneous collection of boys, the majority of whom learn there the rudiments of education, and then elsewhere some form of manual labour, by which they can maintain themselves, and few rise to a higher level than that of fairly qualified school teachers. But the few who show a fitness (by ability, character, and definite vocation) for the highest work, are those for whom the college now exists, and this constitutes its recognised title to be the most important element in the Mission, the heart and hope of its work.

"No truth has been more vividly enforced by the Mission's history than that in the tropics, at any rate, an African Church must be founded, spread, and worked by Africans themselves. The business of its European members is to do their best to start them on this career, help as they may, and then pass out of sight.

"Kiungani, therefore, is at once the oldest and the newest institution in the Mission. Those only who are unfamiliar with the nature of the task, and the overwhelming drawbacks under which it has been carried on, will wonder if little seems to have resulted from twenty-five years' labour. It may be enough to mention that in ten recent years it had at least as many changes of head and management.

"Much may be due to the shortcomings of members of the Mission themselves; but now, at any rate, when a system has been laid down, a tone created, an aim embodied in the whole method and working of the place, it must rest largely with Churchmen in England to say whether it is worthy of prompt and vigorous support, or, indeed, continue to exist at all.

"The buildings contain rooms for the Europeans (including the Bishop, when in Zanzibar), dormitories, schoolroom, class-room for the boys, sick-room, offices, laundry, printing establishment; above all, a handsome chapel, lately built, and made as beautiful and worthy of its work as the funds put in our hands for the purpose permitted, and also small separate studies for the encouragement of habits of private reading and devotion in the boys selected for them.

"The daily routine in 1891 was as follows:—

"Matins and Evensong at 6.30 a.m. and p.m. School from 7.15 a.m. to 8.30, 9.30 to 12, with half an hour's interval; from 2 p.m. to 3.30, and 4 to

5. The upper boys are also instructed in the evening. Meals at 8.30 a.m., 12.30, and 7 p.m.

"Holy Communion is celebrated on Sundays, and (in English) on three days in each week ; also on all Feasts and Saints' days.

"A Guild (of St. Paul) has been founded to give further opportunities and sense of union and sympathy to boys desirous of being candidates for Holy Orders, the rule of the Guild being that every member shall pray daily for the other members by name.

"The course of teaching is full and varied, including, beside religious instruction, geography, Church history, study of English, grammar and translation, Euclid and arithmetic, Arabic writing, music, etc. Games are encouraged, and football is regularly played.

"The total annual cost of the Institution is about £1,600 ; *i.e.*, for a staff of seven or eight Europeans and about 100 boys of all ages, from eight to eighteen or twenty. Of this sum a large proportion is raised by friends in England, who contribute or obtain £7 a year for some particular boy, and £10 for a teacher.

"These boys include representatives of fifteen or twenty tribes living at varying distances between the east coast and the central lakes. At first many are unable to speak anything but their own dialect, but soon learn the Swahili spoken in Zanzibar."

Mr. Madan also says in 1893 :—

"At the present time at least a third of the school at Kiungani consists of boys who are not the mere waifs and strays of Africa, placed in our charge with no choice of their own, with the stamp of slavery more or less permanently impressed upon them, knowing no ties of home or kindred, bound to the Mission no less than binding the Mission to them, as a kind of permanent responsibility and charge, whatever they may turn out in course of time. The new element consists of free boys, the pick of our Mission schools, voluntarily seeking to know more and to rise to a higher level than they could otherwise attain . . . making a real sacrifice of much that is dear to them—home ties, family life, and unfettered freedom ; submitting to a discipline necessarily rather strict and irksome, maintaining throughout a relation to their teachers which either can terminate at pleasure—a relation far more healthy and bracing than in the former case.

"On these terms boys have come from Magila (eighty miles distant), from the Rovuma region (300 miles away), and even from Nyasa, by a route involving a journey of nearly 1,000 miles.

"The one main object of our work is to send these boys back, as far as possible, to their own countries—not Europeanized and contemptuous of their old companions and surroundings, but able to live among without being of them, able to stand alone as living sober, well-instructed, high-principled,

Christian lives, and gather others round them by the daily exhibition of a standard of truth and goodness never known before ; and (if it may be) found branches of the Catholic Church with themselves as its ordained ministers.

“ How is this to be effected ? Largely by means of an educational machine, combining routine with elasticity, discipline with freedom, developing powers of body, mind, and will in an atmosphere truly and affectedly religious. Far distant as such an ideal may be, something of the sort is in existence and at work.”

Such, then, is the spirit in which the Church in Central Africa is striving to strike firm and deep the roots in native soil of that tree which, we trust, shall yet spread its branches far and wide over the nations, and in which even those of other climes may find rest and shelter.

III.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE MISSION.

* **I**T may at first sight seem strange that the Mission in this its 38th year of life has no written constitution except one dealing with the home organization. And yet in this defect (if defect it be) it but imitates the Church and the State of England, and for the same reasons—it and they have been built up by Englishmen who seek practical utility before theoretical completeness. Yet it must be confessed that the history of the Mission illustrates this national habit in a somewhat accentuated form. For example, the first two Bishops, Mackenzie and Tozer, took the oath of Obedience to the Metropolitan of Cape Town. All the subsequent Bishops have taken the oath to the Archbishop of Canterbury; and if any change is made in the future, it will probably be in the direction of the formation of a Province of Central Africa. The Universities' Mission looks back with reverence and gratitude to the South African Church from which she received her Mission; but various reasons, principally the increased facilities of communication with England, led to a severance of formal ties, gradually effected, but complete.

Again, no rule has been authoritatively laid down as to the manner of the appointment of Bishops. When Bishop Hine was appointed, Archbishop Benson made the selection with the assistance of a Committee of Bishops, of which the Chairman of our London Committee (the Bishop of St. Alban's) was a member. On previous vacancies, alas! so numerous in our annals, the choice was made by the London Committee and submitted to the Archbishop. His discretion was, of course, absolute, and so the appointment has really always rested with His Grace. As to the person to be chosen,

* This Appendix is written by one of the Treasurers of the Mission.

consultation with the members of the Mission staff has been in practice a matter of great difficulty although in theory most desirable. The length of time which it would take to get the suffrages of the Missionaries from the outlying stations in the Zanzibar Diocese would cause a serious delay, and from every part of the Likoma Diocese more than six months is required to obtain a reply. Still, on the occasion of the appointment of Bishop Richardson, a beginning was made in this direction in the diocese of Zanzibar.

One more matter must not be left unnoticed, if we would candidly place before our readers the extent of our independence of written law. There has never been any distinct definition of the limits of our Bishop's jurisdiction, either when there was but one diocese or now that there are two. The Committee feel, and have always felt, that it is not within their province to draw up a system for the organization of the Mission in Africa, although they have been careful from time to time to provide machinery for the organization of their work in England.

It may be asked, How is it possible to carry out the work with so much left undetermined and obscure? The answer is, that our work has prospered, in spite of, or rather it should be said in consequence of, the freedom which we have enjoyed. When we consider our small beginnings, our wonderful growth, the changes which have been wrought in our outward circumstances by political forces and by the introduction of railways, steam boats and telegraphs, the quick succession of our workers—so many blessed with divers gifts called so early to their rest—we cannot but be thankful that we have been free to adapt ourselves to the circumstances of the day, whilst holding fast that fundamental law of our existence from which we have never swerved, namely, that the government of the Mission in Africa is in the hands of its Bishops, untrammelled by any control exercised by the Committee at home. Maintaining this principle, we wait with hope for the time when, compacted by slow degrees and as the consequence of natural growth, the dioceses of the Universities' Mission will take their place in the province of Central Africa amongst the Churches in communion with the See of Canterbury.

IV.

SYNODICAL ACTION.

With the revival of Church principles, for which our last half-century will be famous, it has come to be seen that the free synodical action of the clergy is a proper concomitant of the fundamental principle of the Apostolic Succession. The late Bishop of Lincoln, as we all know, led the way in this matter, and it was upon the Lincoln model that the Sacred Diocesan Synod of Zanzibar was constituted in 1896. Previous to the convocation of this Synod, Bishop Richardson caused some very considerable inquiries to be made. The Archdeacon of Zanzibar consulted several eminent canonists (including the late Archbishop) during his stay in England, and the Rev. Walter K. Firminger paid a visit to Bloemfontein in order to study the practice and constitution of the Synod in that diocese.

First Synod of
Zanzibar,
May 5, 1894.

The first Synod was held in Christ Church, the Bishop presiding, and the following clergy were able to be present :—

PRIESTS.

The Ven. Archdeacon Farler.
The Rev. A. H. Hamilton.
,, P. L. Jones-Bateman.
,, J. K. Key.
,, Chauncy Maples.
,, W. C. Porter.
,, Duncan Travers.
,, H. W. Woodward.

DEACONS.

The Rev. F. A. Wallis.
,, F. J. Williams.
,, H. C. Goodyear.

LAYMEN.

Mr. A. C. Madan.
,, W. Bellingham.

The Bishop (Smythies) says of this Synod :—" Though many of us began with very different opinions on some of the subjects brought forward, yet after we had heard one another's opinions some way of reconciliation was found, so that all the resolutions of the Synod were passed without a dissenting voice."

The laymen present took no part in the decisions, some of which were as follows :—

"1. That in the opinion of this Synod no man continuing in the state of polygamy can be admitted to Holy Baptism.

"2. That a Polygamist desiring Holy Baptism should be advised carefully to avoid any injustice towards the women who had regarded him as their husband, and to provide for their maintenance in accordance with the custom of his country before he is baptized.

"3. That at all the Missionary Stations an account of all presents given away should be kept, with any details which may serve as a guide to those who may succeed to the charge of such stations.

"4. That all members of the Mission should exercise the utmost caution in furthering the liberation of any persons who may be in a state of slavery in the country in which they are living, and that in the case of any of our people wishing to redeem or receive children there should be a definite understanding that such children should be in all respects free and should be brought up as Christians.

"5. That no boys should be received into the houses of the Mission except for some definite work, or as pupils in the schools, and that no difference should be made in the food and status of the boys received.

"6. These acts were agreed to unanimously at the four local Conferences."

Second Synod of Zanzibar. Nine years later Bishop Smythies held another Synod, on June 30. On this occasion he issued a general dispensation from fasting to such of the European members of the staff as might require it.

In the course of his address he read a letter which he had forwarded to the Home Committee, and which explains the change in the arrangements for the staff mentioned above.

"Hitherto the ladies, clergy, and laymen have occupied the Mission house at Mkunazini and houses attached, all having a common table. This was no longer possible when a staff of nurses was added, and at present, at great inconvenience, they live in the hospital. Our work hitherto has been almost exclusively amongst freed slaves' children, industrial boys, and adults. Very little direct effort has been made to influence the large population of Arabs and Indians and their coloured Mohammedan followers, of which the town of Zanzibar consists. A house of mixed character such as ours was very unsuitable as a centre for any such work. We need a clergy-house, where clergy and laymen may live in community together, after the system of the Calcutta and Delhi Missions. Such a house as ours has been at Mkunazini, unusual among ourselves, would seem peculiarly unsuited to the ways and habits of thought of a Mohammedan population. Mr. Madan, who feels very strongly on the subject, has suggested to me that, if a clergy-house was established,

in all probability men specially fitted for the work would volunteer from the Universities and elsewhere at home, to give themselves specially to work in the town of Zanzibar.

“There were present :—

PRIESTS.		The Rev. P. R. H. Chambers.	
The Archdeacon of Zanzibar.		„ „	E. S. Palmer.
The Rev. H. W. Woodward.		„ „	C. R. Tyrwhitt.
„ „	W. C. Porter.	„ „	G. P. K. H. Du Boulay.
„ „	J. K. C. Key.		
„ „	Cecil Majaliwa.		
„ „	J. C. Salfey.		
„ „	W. M. Mercer.		
„ „	J. E. Griffin.		
„ „	A. H. Carnon.		
		DEACONS.	
		The Rev. P. Limo.	
		„ „	J. C. Haines.
		„ „	J. Grindrod.

“Mr. F. Davenport acted as Secretary, and Mr. King and other members of the Mission took part in the deliberations.”

“ACTS OF THE SYNOD.

“1. That this Synod desires to express its thanks to Mr. Madan and the Rev. F. R. Hodgson for their arduous labours, which have happily resulted in a revised translation of the Old and New Testaments.

“2. That a Committee be formed to consider the Revised Translations of the Swahili New Testament, consisting of the Archdeacon of Zanzibar, the Rev. H. W. Woodward, Cecil Majaliwa, and Petro Limo, with the Bishop as Chairman, with power to add to their numbers; to sit day by day and to report upon the translation; the result of their labours to be printed at Kiungani, and circulated according to the twenty-sixth Resolution of the Synod of 1884.

“3. That in all books or translations issued by the Universities' Mission in native languages, while our own positive beliefs are stated and taught, the object shall be kept in view of so putting them as not to reflect on the beliefs of other Christians who hold the Apostles', Nicene, and Athanasian Creeds, so that our books may be read by them without offence.

“4. That this Synod authorizes the Rev. H. W. Woodward and Mr. King to revise the existing Swahili Hymn-Book, with the following instructions :—

“(a) To make additions, particularly of Office hymns, and to omit any hymns objectionable for doctrinal or linguistic reasons.

“(b) To select hymns for translation or re-translation by competent persons.

“(c) To submit before Michaelmas tentative copies to the various stations for suggestions, such suggestions to be referred to the Bishop.

“5. (a) That in the instructions to hearers on p. 26 of the *Mambo ya*

Chuoni, in the place of § B the tract of the Bishop of Zululand (except so far as it is covered by § A), be inserted in the form already in use.

“(b) That this Synod commissions the Archdeacon of Zanzibar, Mr. Woodward, and Mr. Chambers, to form a Committee, with power to add to their numbers, to revise Chapter V. of the *Mambo ya Chuoni*, with a view to making it more efficient for the instruction of our converts.

“6. The Synod having regard to the great danger to health caused by want of care in this climate, recommended several precautions to members of the Mission.

“7. That it is most desirable that we should impress as far as possible on all Africans ministered to in spiritual things by African teachers, that it is their duty to furnish their teachers with temporal things, and that we should, therefore, in bringing up all our African teachers, strenuously discourage all Europeanisms and luxuries, which the Africans they will minister to will be quite unable to supply to them.

“8. That this Synod desires to encourage natives in every way to purchase, however cheaply, our Swahili Bibles and New Testaments.

“9. That wages should not be fixed for any native teacher without consultation and reference to the general principles on which the Mission gives its salaries.”

Third Synod of Zanzibar, Oct. 18, 1896. The Sacred Diocesan Synod met at Zanzibar on St. Luke's Day, 1896. The *Veni Creator* having been sung in a chapel prepared in the Hospital, where in default of a proper episcopal residence the Bishop was staying, the Bishop, followed by his clergy, and lastly by the choir, walked in procession to the Cathedral, chanting the Psalm, “How amiable are Thy tabernacles.” After a solemn celebration of the Holy Eucharist, the Bishop opened his Synod, the laity having been previously dismissed. The Acts of the Synod have not as yet been promulgated.

We must leave it to Canonists to determine the exact character of the previous Synods, which not only were open to the laity, but included only those clergy to whom the Bishop had issued summons. We have, however, inserted their acts, which, it will be noted, deal with matters of rather more than a purely pastoral nature.

There were present Archdeacon Jones-Bateman, the Rev. J. P. Farler (Bishop's Chaplain), and the Revs. A. H. Carnon, G. Dale, W. K. Firminger, J. E. Griffin, C. Majaliwa, W. C. Porter, S. Sehoza, T. C. Simpson, H. W. Woodward, J. Godfrey (by invitation), D. Machina, D. Seyiti, and J. Swedi.

V.

ENGLISH MEMBERS OF THE MISSION.

The sign ✠ is placed against the names of those members who have died in the service of the Mission.

Date of Joining.	Name.	Degree, University College, Occupation.	Remarks.
1860.			
Oct. 4.	✠CHARLES FREDERICK MACKENZIE. <i>First Bishop.</i>	D.D., Cam. .	Died Jan. 31, 1862.
Oct. 4.	Anne Mackenzie . .	—	Withdrew Apr. 26, 1862.
Oct. 4.	Horace Waller . .	LaySuperintend-ent	Withdrew 1863, died Feb. 22, 1896.
Oct. 4.	Lovell James Procter .	P. B.A., Dur.	Withdrew 1863.
Oct. 4.	✠Henry Carter Scudamore	P. Cam. .	Died Jan. 1, 1863.
Dec.	Henry Rowley . .	Schoolmaster .	Withdrew 1863.
1861.			Withdrew 1863.
Apr. 6.	Richard Martin Clark .	Shoemaker .	Withdrew 1863.
Apr. 6.	Samuel A. Gamble .	Carpenter .	Withdrew 1863.
Apr. 6.	Alfred Adams . .	Agriculturist .	Withdrew 1863.
Apr. 6.	J. Andrew Blair . .	Printer . .	Invalided 1861.
Apr. 6.	Edward Hawkins . .	P. M.A., Ox.	Died.
Apr. 6.	✠John Dickenson . .	M.D., Dur. .	Died Mar. 17, 1863.
Apr. 6.	✠Henry De Wint Burrup	P. Ox. . .	Died Feb. 22, 1862.
1863.			
Feb. 2.	WILLIAM GEORGE TOZER <i>Second Bishop.</i>	D.D., Ox. .	Invalided Apr. 1873.
	✠EDWARD STEERE . .	D.D.Ox., LL.D. Lon.	Died Aug. 27, 1882.
	<i>Afterwards Third Bishop.</i> Charles A. Alington .	P. B.A., Ox. .	Withdrew Jan., 1869.
	✠George Edwards Drayton	D. Cant. .	Died Nov. 28, 1867.
	✠Caroline Drayton . .	—	Died Nov. 17, 1867.
	Henry Waghorn . .	—	Withdrew.
	Robert Kallaway . .	—	Withdrew.
	Thomas Sivil . .	Bricklayer .	Withdrew.
	Richard Harrison . .	—	Withdrew.
1865.			
	Helen Rainforth Tozer .	—	Withdrew.

Date of Joining.	Name.	Degree, University College, Occupation.	Remarks.
1865.	Mary Ann Jones . .	—	Died 1869.
	Harry Goodwin . .	—	Withdrew.
1867.			
Oct.	Walter Lea	P. Lon. . . .	Invalided June 1869.
Oct.	Maria Lea	—	Withdrew.
Oct.	Sarah Ann Pakeman .	—	Withdrew.
1868.			
June	✠ Richard Lewin Pennell	P. M.A., Ox.	Died Apr. 15, 1872.
June	✠ Lewis Fraser . . .	P. B.A., Cam.	Died Dec. 10, 1869.
June	✠ Samuel Speare . . .	—	Died Nov. 13, 1873.
Nov.	Samuel Davis	D.	Withdrew Mar., 1870
Nov.	William Minchin Edwards	—	Withdrew.
1869.			
May	Caroline A. F. Packe .	—	Withdrew.
	Elizabeth J. Heath . .	—	Withdrew.
	Frederick Chapman . .	—	Withdrew.
1870.			
Mar.	John Morton	Schoolmaster .	Withdrew.
	✠ Benjamin Hartley. . .	—	Died Feb. 15, 1874.
Aug.	✠ Ormsby Handcock . .	P. Dub. . . .	Died Sept. 29, 1870.
	Charlotte Roden . . .	—	Withdrew.
1872.			
	Sarah Fountaine . . .	Schoolmistress .	Withdrew 1879. Rejoined 1888. Withdrew 1893.
1873.			
Feb.	Benjamin Karn	Schoolmaster .	Withdrew.
Feb.	Christian Dawson . . .	—	Withdrew.
Feb.	✠ Arthur Nugent West .	P. B.A., Cam.	Died Dec. 25, 1873.
Apr.	James Midgley	P. M.A., Cam.	Invalided.
1874.			
	John Gough Poole . . .	—	Withdrew.
	Alfred H. Boys	—	Withdrew.
	Fanny Bennett	—	Withdrew.
1875.			
	Edward S. L. Randolph	P. B.A., Cam.	Withdrew 1879.
	✠ Josephine Bartlett . .	—	Died Apr. 10, 1895.
	John Prediger Farler . .	P. M.A., Cam.	Withdrew 1889.
	Henry John Mitchell . .	Cant.	Withdrew.
Mar.	Frederick Alfred Wallis .	P. Lin.	Withdrew 1889.
	Herbert W. Woodward .	P. St. Stephen's Ho., Ox.	—
	✠ John Henry Moss. . . .	—	Died Jan. 17, 1877.
	✠ Charles Anderson James	P. M.A., Ox.	Died Nov. 25, 1875.
	James Beardall	—	Withdrew 1877.
	Katherine Graves . . .	—	Withdrew.

Date of Joining.	Name.	Degree, University College, Occupation.	Remarks.
1875.	[Madame] Cappelle . . .	—	Withdrew.
	Alfred Belleville . . .	—	Withdrew.
	Frances Ainsworth . . .	—	Withdrew.
	✠ Alice Marsh . . .	—	Died Nov. 14, 1875.
	William Forbes Capel . . .	P. K.C.L. . .	Withdrew, 1877.
	Katherine Tyndal . . .	—	Withdrew.
	Mary Anne Harriet Allen . . .	—	Withdrew.
	✠ Sophia Jones . . .	—	Died Apr. 11, 1877.
	Emma Durham . . .	—	Withdrew. Rejnd. '97.
	Herbert Henry Clarke . . .	P.	Invalided Oct. 7, 1891.
	Owen Phillips . . .	D.	Withdrew, 1882.
1876.	✠ Charles Yorke . . .	D. War. . .	Died Jan. 6, 1880.
Mar. 18.	✠ CHAUNCEY MAPLES . . .	P. D.D., Ox.	Drowned Sept. 2,
Mar. 18.	<i>Afterwards Sixth Bishop.</i>		1895.
	✠ Joseph Arthur Williams . . .	Dor.	Drowned Sept. 2,
			1895.
	William P. Johnson . . .	P. M.A., Ox.	—
1877.	Alfred Charles Goldfinch . . .	D. War. . .	Withdrew.
	Francis Roger Hodgson . . .	P. M.A., Ox.	Withdrew 1889.
	Jessie Hodgson . . .	— . . .	Invalided 1888.
	✠ Margaret Ann Hinton . . .	—	Died Mar. 24, 1881.
	Frederick John Williams . . .	P. War.. . .	Withdrew 1885.
	Caroline D. M. Thackeray . . .	—	—
	Charles Spencer Newham . . .	—	Withdrew.
1878.	W. H. Maplesden . . .	—	Withdrew.
1879.	Edward H. C. Sayres . . .	P. M.A., Ox.	Invalided 1880.
Feb. 20.	L. L. Amy Bashford . . .	—	Withdrew 1889.
Feb. 20.	Edwin Heron Dodgson . . .	P. Chic. . .	Withdrew 1880.
	✠ Herbert Geldart . . .	P. Cant. . .	Died May 11, 1889.
	William Bellingham . . .	Working man . .	Withdrew 1888.
	Lionel Kentish Rankin . . .	Cam.	Withdrew.
	Doré Yarnton Mills . . .	—	—
1880.	William D. Lowndes . . .	D. B.A., Cam.	Withdrew 1883.
	William C. Porter . . .	P. M.A., Cam.	—
	Charles Chapman . . .	P. B.A., Cam.	Withdrew 1881.
	Thomas Ellis . . .	Carpenter . .	Withdrew 1884.
	Samuel Hayman . . .	Printer . . .	Withdrew.
	Arthur Cornwallis Madan . . .	M.A., Ox. . .	Resigned 1896.
	Henry Berkeley Bradley . . .	—	Withdrew 1884.
	✠ Herbert A. B. Wilson . . .	D. Ox.	Died Sept. 12, 1882.

Date of Joining.	Name.	Degree, University College, Occupation.	Remarks.
1880.	✠ Charles Albert Janson	P. M.A., Ox.	Died Feb. 21, 1882.
1881.	✠ Percy Lisle Jones-Bate- [man]	P. M.A., Cam.	Died Oct. 25, 1897.
	Thomas Gill . . .	Mason . . .	Withdrew.
	James C. Yarborough . .	D. B.A., Ox.	Invalided 1881.
	Edith Phillips . . .	—	Withdrew.
	✠ Charles W. Roberts . .	Dor. Schoolmaster	Died Aug. 3, 1898.
	William Henry Kitson . .	—	Withdrew.
	John K. Causton Key . .	P. M.A., Ox.	—
1882.	Harriet Smith . . .	Teacher . . .	Withdrew.
	Mary Worsfold . . .	—	Withdrew 1883.
	Ellen Sherratt . . .	Nurse . . .	Withdrew 1883.
	✠ Thomas R. S. F. Whitty	Dor. . . .	Died Dec. 19, 1887.
	James Petrie . . .	M.B., Aber. . .	Withdrew.
Oct. 1883.	Richard C. Ramshaw . .	Printer . . .	Withdrew 1885.
Feb. 21.	✠ Mary Charlotte Towns- hend	Nurse . . .	Died June 13, 1891.
Feb. 21.	Sarah Carter . . .	—	Invalided 1884.
	Arthur Hayne Hamilton	P. B.A., Ox. .	Invalided Oct. 1884.
	✠ Henry Charles Goodyear	P. War. . . .	Died June 24, 1889.
July 10.	✠ CHARLES ALAN SMYTH- IES . . .	D.D., Cam. . .	Died May 7, 1894.
1884.	<i>Fourth Bishop.</i>		
Jan. 16.	Duncan Travers . . .	P. M.A., Cam.	Invalided.
Jan. 16.	Herbert Allen . . .	Carpenter . .	Withdrew 1894.
Jan. 16.	Martin Luther Irving . .	D. Cant. . . .	Withdrew 1888.
Jan. 16.	Henry Kerslake . . .	Schoolmaster .	Withdrew 1887.
Jan. 16.	✠ John Meshack Lavender	Cant.	Died Aug. 20, 1884.
Jan. 16.	William Marsden Mercer	P. Dor. . . .	Withdrew Sept. 1893.
Apr. 9.	Spencer Weigall . . .	P. M.A., Ox.	Invalided 1893.
May 7.	✠ Charles S. B. Riddell . .	P. B.A., Ox. .	Died June 11, 1886.
May 7.	Ruth Berkeley . . .	—	Invalided 1897.
May 1.	✠ George Hervey Swinny	P. M.A., Ox.	Died Feb. 13, 1887.
May 1.	✠ Edith Maria Swinny . .	—	Died May 31, 1888.
July 2.	Leonard Hanbury Frere.	P. Ox.	Invalided 1892.
July 2.	Evelyn Bucknall L. Smith	P. B.A., Cam.	—
July 2.	Robert Stanley Coupland	P. Lin.	Withdrew, rejoined Oct. 16, 1896.
July 2.	James Lewis Matthews . .	Schoolmaster .	Withdrew 1893.
July 2.	William Bishop . . .	P. Dor. . . .	—
Oct. 31.	Danson Wride . . .	Carpenter . .	Invalided 1893.
Oct. 31.	Gerard B. B. Callaghan . .	—	Invalided 1885.
Oct. 31.	William Robinson . . .	Engine fitter .	Invalided.

Date of Joining.	Name.	Degree, University College, Occupation.	Remarks.
1884.			
Oct. 31.	Richard Creighton . .	—	Withdrew.
Oct. 31.	Charles Alley . .	Carpenter. .	Invalided 1892.
Oct. 31.	Albert Read . . .	Engineer . .	Withdrew.
1885.			
Jan.	John Michael Halliday .	Accountant .	Withdrew 1889.
Mar. 18.	George Coggan . .	—	Withdrew.
July 8.	Walter King . . .	D. Cant. .	—
	✠Ernest Edward Winckley	Dor. . .	Died Feb. 4, 1886.
July 25.	✠Cecil Sherard Pollard .	P. M.A., Ox.	Died Aug. 16, 1886
Sept. 2.	✠Theophilus L. Taylor .	P. B.A., Lon.	Died Mar. 1, 1891.
Sept. 2.	✠Eleanor Mary Bennett .	Teacher . .	Died May 16, 1893.
Sept. 2.	Margaret E. Woodward .	Teacher . .	Withdrew 1896.
Sept. 2.	✠Herbert Ley . . .	M.R.C.S.(Eng.), L.S.A.	Died June 10, 1895.
July.	Percy Montague Wathen	P. M.A., Ox.	Withdrew 1890.
	✠John Stevenson C. Wood	P. B.A., Cam.	Died June 18, 1886.
1886.			
Feb.	✠John Hainsworth . .	P. Dor. . .	Died Apr. 13, 1896.
Feb.	✠Fanny Jervis Shaw . .	Nurse . .	Died Oct. 9, 1893.
Mar. 12.	John Vaughan Dodd . .	Printer . .	Withdrew.
Apr. 7.	✠George Sherriff . . .	Trawler . .	Died Aug. 12, 1891.
	✠Clement John Sparks .	P. Cant. . .	Died Sept. 22, 1889.
	✠Eliza Helen Wallis . .	—	Died Jan. 10, 1890.
1887.			
	✠William Knowles . .	Mason . .	Died Sept. 7, 1889.
Feb. 17.	James William Mills . .	Engineer . .	Withdrew Oct., 1890
Feb. 17.	Richard Crawshay . .	—	Withdrew 1887.
July 7.	✠Montague Ellis-Viner .	P. B.A., Ox.	Died Oct. 5, 1890.
Aug. 17.	✠Francis William Wilde .	Carpenter. .	Died July 20, 1892.
July 7.	✠Agnes [Sister] . . .	—	Died Mar. 17, 1895.
July 7.	Anne Margaret [Sister] .	—	Invalided.
July 7.	Mary Elizabeth [Sister] .	—	Invalided.
Oct. 2.	Emily Woodward (Mrs. Key)	—	—
Nov. 24.	Alfred Charles Highton .	P. B.A., Ox.	Withdrew 1889.
1888.			
Feb.	Henry Watson . . .	Schoolmaster .	Withdrew 1891.
Apr. 19.	Henry George Maxwell .	P. M.A., Ox.	Invalided Nov., 1888
May 10.	George William Mallender	Printer . .	Invalided 1895.
May 10.	William Williams . . .	Engine fitter .	Withdrew. Rejoined Nov., 1896.
June 7.	John Henry Bone . . .	Schoolmaster .	Invalided 1895.
June 7.	Leonard Otley Warner .	Cant. . .	Invalided 1889.
June 7.	Henry Edward Symonds .	Printer . .	Withdrew.
July 31.	Sophia Charlotte Mc- Laughlin	Nurse . .	Withdrew 1893.

Date of Joining.	Name.	Degree, University College, Occupation.	Remarks.
1888.			
Sept. 28.	Ralph Belcher . . .	--	Withdrew, 1890.
Nov. 10.	✠ Richard Coombe . . .	--	Died Jan. 29, 1889.
Mar. 12.	Lydia Leah Mary Smith.	Nurse . . .	Invalided.
	JOHN EDWARD HINE . . .	P. D.D., Ox. ;	—
	<i>Afterwards, Eighth Bishop.</i>	M.D., Lon.	
1889.			
Jan. 12.	✠ Albert Beetham . . .	Tradesman . .	Died May 11, 1892.
Apr. 12.	✠ John James Viney . .	Schoolmaster .	Died Sept. 20, 1891.
June 10.	Godfrey Dale . . .	P. B.A., Ox. .	Withdrew 1897
July 30.	Richard Feild Castle . .	M.B., Cam. ;	Withdrew.
		M.R.C.S.	
Nov. 12.	Margaret Amabelle Berkeley	--	—
1890.			
Feb. 20.	Mary Anna Boyd . . .	--	—
Mar. 10.	Clare [Sister] . . .	--	Invalided Oct., 1890.
Mar. 10.	Mary Dorothea [Sister] .	--	Withdrew 1895.
May 12.	✠ Percy Edward Faulkner	D. Dor. . .	Died Aug. 23, 1897.
May 12.	John Thomas Brough . .	Carpenter. . .	Withdrew.
June 10.	Susie Grant Dean-Pitt . .	--	Withdrew 1893.
June 10.	Thomas Brockway . . .	Storekeeper . .	—
June 10.	William G. Ross . . .	Carpenter. . .	Invalided 1890.
June 10.	✠ Charles Kick . . .	Printer . . .	Died June 19, 1896.
Nov. 12.	✠ Janet Emily Campbell .	Nurse . . .	Died June 6, 1892.
Oct. 12.	Emily A. Boden . . .	--	Withdrew.
Oct. 12.	Florence Emily Turner . .	--	Withdrew 1893.
Oct. 12.	John Dalebrook . . .	B.A., Ox. . .	Withdrew.
Oct. 12.	John Ernest Crouch . . .	Engineer . . .	—
Nov. 10.	Richard Banks Davies . .	P. M.A., Cam.	Withdrew.
Nov. 10.	John Castle Haines . . .	D. B.A., Ox.	Invalided.
Oct. 12.	✠ Robert William Lewis .	Printer . . .	Died Mar. 15, 1892.
Nov. 12.	Alfred Henry Carnon . . .	P. Dor. . .	—
Nov. 12.	Margaret F. Caffin . . .	Nurse . . .	Invalided.
1891.			
Jan. 19.	Henry Edwardes . . .	P. Lich. . .	Invalided.
Jan. 19.	Frank Alfred Ford . . .	Printer . . .	Invalided 1895.
Jan. 19.	Herbert Lister . . .	--	Withdrew 1897.
Jan. 19.	Ernest St. Clair Henriques	Med. Assistant.	Invalided 1894.
Apr. 13.	Harriette L. Burke . . .	--	Withdrew 1895.
June 12.	Robert F. Acland Hood . .	P. B.A., Ox. .	Withdrew Jan., 1896.
Aug. 12.	✠ George William Atlay . .	P. B.A., Cam.	Killed Aug. 26, 1895.
	✠ Frances [Sister] . . .	--	Died Apr. 8, 1892.
1892.			
Feb. 15.	Percival R. Harcourt Chambers	P. B.A., Cam.	Invalided Nov., 1897.

Date of Joining.	Name.	Degree, University College, Occupation.	Remarks.
1892.			
Feb. 15.	George Mervyn Lawson	P. B.A., Ox.	Invalided 1895.
Feb. 15.	Bertram Wallace Pullinger	—	Invalided 1893.
Mar. 14.	Charles Barrett . . .	—	Withdrew 1893.
Mar. 14.	Arthur Cook . . .	Schoolmaster .	Withdrew 1896.
May 9.	James Edward Griffin .	P. Lon. . .	—
June 3.	Thomas Corbett . . .	Builder . . .	Withdrew 1895.
June 3.	James Gillanders . . .	Schoolmaster .	Invalided 1895.
Sept. 10.	✠Wm. J Harcourt Chambers	B.A., Cam. .	Died Mar. 5, 1894.
Sept. 10.	Hannah Brewerton .	Nurse . . .	—
Sept. 10.	Sarah Ann Whitbread .	Nurse . . .	—
Nov. 10.	Frank Davenport . . .	Accountant .	Invalided 1895.
Dec. 21.	WILFRID BIRD HORNBY, <i>First Bishop of Nyasaland.</i>	D.D. Ox. .	Invalided 1894.
1893.			
Jan. 10.	Thomas Crampton Simpson	P. Lin. . .	—
Jan. 10.	James Grindrod . . .	D. Cant. . .	Invalided 1896.
Jan. 10.	Frederic W. Bradshaw .	Printer . . .	—
Jan. 10.	Herbert J. Faulkner . .	—	—
Jan. 10.	Annie Garrett . . .	Teacher . . .	Withdrew 1896.
Jan. 10.	Walter Edward Russell .	Soc. Sac. Miss.	—
Jan. 10.	Harriet Matilda Basham.	Nurse . . .	Invalided 1895.
Feb. 10.	James Sedgwick Wim- bush	P. M.A., Ox.	—
Feb. 10.	✠Herbert Molesworth Pearson	Engineer . .	Died May 26, 1894.
Feb. 10.	✠Archibald H. Butler .	Schoolmaster .	Died Jan. 15, 1895.
Feb. 10.	Malcolm C. Kerr . . .	—	Invalided 1895.
Feb. 10.	✠William Cowey . . .	Miner . . .	Died Mar. 6, 1894.
April 10.	Laura Phillips . . .	—	—
April 10.	Russell Blackbird Smith.	Carpenter . .	Invalided 1893.
May 10.	✠George P. K. H. Du Boulay	P. M.A., Ox.	Died Apr. 1, 1895.
May 10.	Edmund Stuart Palmer .	P. M.B., Edin.	—
May 10.	Cecil Robert Tyrwhitt .	P. M.A., Ox.	Invalided 1896.
May 10.	Cyril Wildsmith Chilvers	—	Invalided June, 1898.
May 10.	Thomas Coble Matthews	Trawler . . .	Invalided 1895.
July 10.	✠Annie Mathilde Willion	Nurse . . .	Died June 8, 1894.
July 10.	Caroline Louisa Saunders	Nurse . . .	—
July 10.	✠Sister Angela . . .	—	Died June 29, 1894.
Aug. 17.	Archibald Hitchborn .	Schoolmaster .	—
Aug. 21.	Arthur George Barnard Glossop	P. M.A., Ox.	—
Aug. 21.	Frederick Augustine Rob- inson	M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.	Invalided 1894.

Date of Joining.	Name.	Degree, University College, Occupation.	Remarks.
1893.			
Sept. 11.	✠ Alice Marion Gay .	Teacher . .	Died Jan. 19, 1894.
Sept. 11.	Georgina Emma Holloway	—	—
Sept. 11.	Mary Gertrude Palmer .	—	Invalided 1895.
Nov. 12.	Walter Harold Kisbey .	P. Cant. .	—
Nov. 20.	Margaret Breay . .	Nurse . .	Invalided 1895.
1894.			
Feb. 10.	Walter Kelly Firminger .	P. M.A., Ox.	Retired 1897.
Feb. 10.	Frederick William Mellor	Soc. Sac. Miss. .	Invalided 1895.
Feb. 10.	✠ Harry Dudfield Gerrish	D. Cant. .	Died July 31, 1897.
Feb.	✠ George Tulip . . .	Engineer . .	Died Mar. 13, 1895.
Mar. 1.	Charles Inchbald Radford	P. Cant. .	Invalided June, 1897.
May 8.	✠ Arthur Fraser Sim .	P. M.A., Cam.	Died Oct. 29, 1895.
May 9.	Eva Clutterbuck . .	—	—
May 9.	Alice Foxley . . .	—	—
July 10.	Margaret Anne Cameron	—	—
July 10.	Mary Stockwell . . .	Nurse . .	Invalided July, 1895.
July 28.	Mary Brown . . .	Nurse . .	Invalided Oct., 1898.
July 28.	Harriet Rachel Southward	Nurse . .	Invalided Nov., 1897.
Oct. 11.	Edward Henry Turner	Schoolmaster .	—
Oct. 11.	John George Philipps .	D. Dor. .	—
Nov. 15.	Florence Emily Derby .	Nurse . .	Invalided May, 1895.
1895.			
Jan. 31.	Lizzie Morris Dunford .	Teacher . .	—
Jan. 31.	James William Brent .	—	—
Jan. 31.	George Sims . . .	Carpenter	—
Jan. 31.	Stanley Sanderson . .	—	—
Mar. 2.	✠ Alfred Dutton . . .	Engine fitter .	Died Sept. 11, 1897.
June 1.	Percy E. Brooke . . .	—	Invalided Jan., 1896.
June 29.	WILLIAM MOORE RICHARDSON, <i>Seventh Bishop.</i>	D.D., Ox. .	—
July 11.	Alice Rees	Nurse . .	Retired 1897.
Aug. 10.	Ernest S. Darley . . .	Schoolmaster	Invalided 1897.
Aug. 28.	✠ Frances Elizabeth Ellershaw	Teacher . .	Died July 9, 1897.
Nov. 16.	Gertrude Ward . . .	Nurse . .	—
1896.			
Jan. 30.	Ernest J. A. Nichols .	D. Dor. .	—
Apr. 9.	Ada M. Sharpe . . .	Nurse . .	—
May 6.	Walter W. Auster . .	P. M.A., Cam.	—
May 6.	✠ William A. Margesson .	P. B.A., Ox. .	Died April 5, 1898.
May 6.	✠ Howell Williams . .	Compositor .	Died July 30, 1898.
May 6.	Alice A. M. Savage . .	Nurse . .	—

Date of Joining.	Name.	Degree, University College, Occupation.	Remarks.
1896.			
May 6.	✠ Marion E. Drake . .	—	Died Jan. 10, 1897.
June 8.	Louise Taylor . . .	Nurse . . .	—
June 8.	Christopher B. Eyre . .	P.	—
Sept. 9.	Joseph Godfrey . . .	D.	Retired 1898.
Sept. 9.	William H. W. Goddard	Schoolmaster .	Invalided 1896
Sept. 9.	Marion Gardiner . . .	Nurse . . .	Retired 1897.
Nov. 9.	Thomas Steaurt . . .	D. Soc. Sac. Miss.	—
1897.			
Jan. 8.	Mary Mabel Barraud . .	Teacher . . .	—
Jan. 17.	Ernest Alfred Gee . . .	P. Dur. . . .	—
Jan. 17.	Frederic James Evans . .	P. M.A., Dur.	—
Jan. 17.	✠ Henry Fitzhugh . . .	Printer . . .	Died July 19, 1897.
Jan. 17.	Henry Sanders Miller . .	Printer . . .	—
Jan. 17.	Henry Mathews . . .	Carpenter. . .	—
Apr. 8.	Herbert Julius Hancock.	P. B.A., Dur.	—
Apr. 8.	Ralph Mannerly Vyall . .	Accountant . .	—
Apr. 10.	Laura M. Windsor-Aubrey	Teacher . . .	—
Apr. 10.	Ellen Pegler D. Sanigear	Nurse . . .	Invalided 1898.
Apr. 10.	Mary Dale	Teacher . . .	Retired Oct., 1897.
May 9.	Janet Phillips	Teacher . . .	—
June 28.	Harold E. Bridger . . .	Teacher . . .	—
Sept. 10.	Jessie Norgate	Teacher . . .	—
Sept. 10.	Ellen M. Nelson	Teacher . . .	—
Sept. 10.	Maud B. R. Stevens . .	Teacher . . .	—
Oct. 28.	Joseph Campbell White .	Soc. Sac. Miss.	—
1898.			
Apr. 9.	Amy Boorn	Nurse	—
Apr. 25.	Elsie Beatrice Ashwin . .	Teacher . . .	Invalided Oct., 1898.
Sept. 9.	Frank Weston	P. M.A., Ox.	—
Sept. 9.	Arthur Makins	Soc. Sac. Miss.	—
Nov. 3.	Mary Agnes Andrews . .	Teacher . . .	—
Nov. 5.	Edith Kathleen Minter . .	Nurse	—
Nov. 5.	Robert Wright Kelsall . .	Accountant . .	—
Nov. 5.	Joseph Edmund T. Heppell	Engine fitter . .	—
Nov. 5.	David Lewis	Engine fitter . .	—
Nov. 5.	Caradoc Davies	B.A., Ox. . .	—

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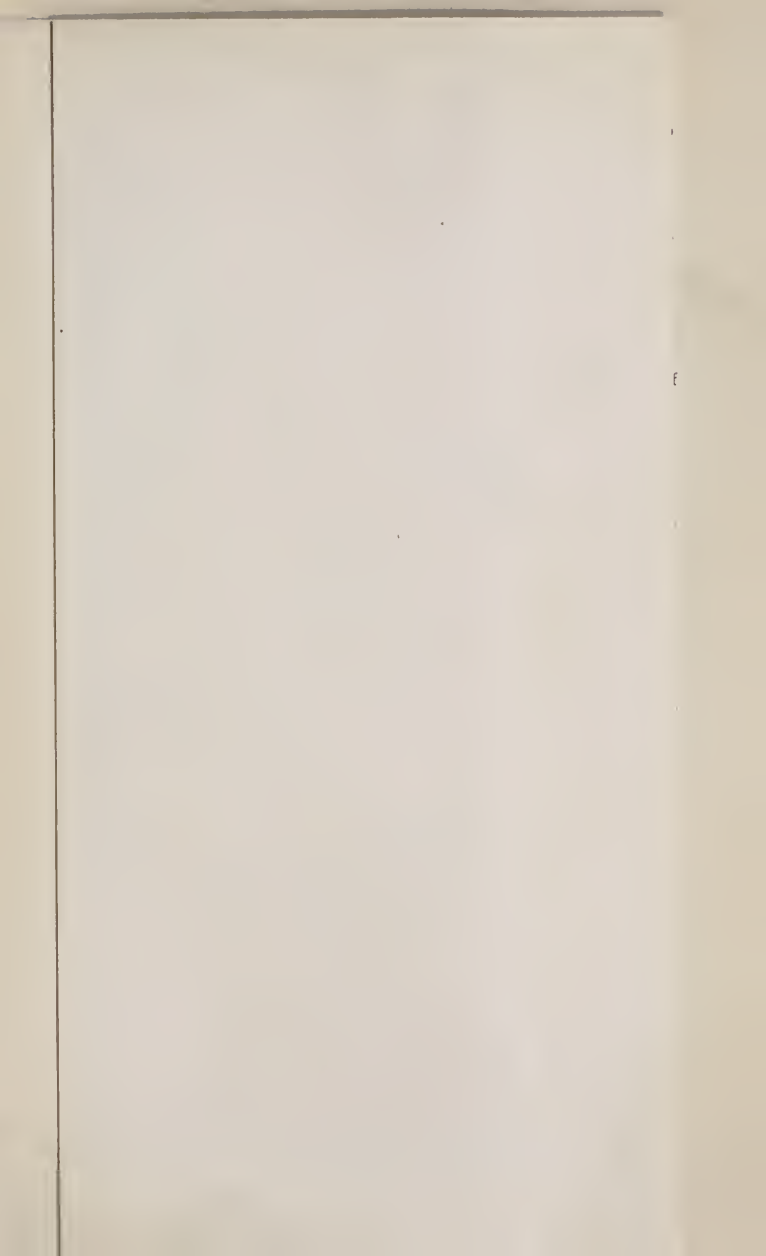
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